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(4119.)

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

DEMARCATION

OF THE

FRONTIER OF TURKEY IN ASIA.

92

1879.

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FRONTIER OF TURKEY IN ASIA.

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Correspondence respecting the Demarcation of the Frontier of Turkey in Asia.

No. 1.

Carathéodory Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Marquis of Salisbury by Musurus Pasha, March 18.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le* 15 *Mars,* 1879.

IL serait désirable que le Major Clark se trouvât à Constantinople, si possible, avant le terme indiqué par Lord Salisbury, car les Commissaires Russes ont fait tous leur apparition ici, et veulent entrer en négociation sans perte de temps. Nous l'avons évité jusqu'ici parce que Sir Henry Layard nous avait affirmé que son Gouvernement attachait de l'importance à ce que rien ne se fit en dehors de lui. Mais, comme les Russes nous pressent, je vous prie de voir Lord Salisbury et d'insister auprès de lui sur la nécessité de hâter le départ du Major Clark.

No. 2.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Malet.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, March* 20, 1879.

INFORM the Turkish Government that Major Clarke, who has been appointed British Commissioner for the demarcation of the Asiatic frontier, will proceed to Constantinople as soon as possible.

No. 3.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Major Clarke.

(No. 8. Confidential.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 20, 1879.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 7 of the 20th March, I transmit to you herewith a copy of a telegram which has been received from Mr. Malet, intimating the wish of the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs for your presence at Constantinople in connection with the delimitation of the frontiers between Russia and Turkey in Asia;* and I have to state to you that, under the circumstances explained in this telegram, I should wish you to proceed there as soon as possible, and to inform me of the day in which you will be ready to leave England.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 4.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Malet.†

(No. 437.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 27, 1879.

I TRANSMIT herewith, for your information, copies of the despatch which I have addressed to Major Clarke, who has been instructed to proceed to Constantinople in order to accompany the Commission which has been nominated by the Russian and Turkish Governments to mark out the new line of frontier between the Russian and Turkish territories in Asia, as laid down in the Treaty of Berlin.

Major Clarke has been selected as the British Commissioner for the tracing of the line of the Alashkerd Valley provided for in the Agreement which was signed by Count Schouvaloff and myself on the 12th July last. It has been settled that the operations of this Commission shall commence at Karaourgan. Major Clarke will

* Mr. Malet, No. 218, March 18, 1879.

† A similar despatch was addressed to the Earl of Dufferin.

also take part in the demarcation of the territory to be ceded by Turkey to Persia in the neighbourhood of Khotur.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 5.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Major Clarke.

(No. 13.)
Foreign Office, March 27, 1879.

Sir,

THE Queen has been graciously pleased to appoint you to be Her Majesty's Commissioner to take part in the settlement of the new line of frontier of the Turkish Empire in Asia, as laid down in the Treaty of Berlin.

The provisions of the Treaty relating to this subject will be found in Articles LVIII, LIX, and LX, and the discussions which took place in regard to them are recorded in Protocols 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20 of the Congress. Copies of the Treaty and Protocols have already been communicated to you, together with other documents bearing upon the principal points involved.

You will find annexed to the Treaty an agreement signed by Count Schouvaloff and myself on the 12th July last, providing that the more detailed tracing of the line of the Alashkerd shall be carried out on the spot, in conformity with the Treaty of Berlin, by a Military Commission composed of a Russian officer, an Ottoman officer, and an English officer.

The terms employed in this agreement do not define with strict precision the point at which the proceedings of the Commission in question shall commence or terminate; but, as you are aware, it has been arranged between Her Majesty's Government and that of Russia that its operations shall begin at Karaourgan and continue as far as the Persian frontier.

You are therefore instructed to proceed to Constantinople, where it is understood that the Russian and Turkish Commissioners are already assembled, and you will place yourself at once in communication with them, and make arrangements for assisting at the demarcation of the frontier in accordance with the above agreement.

In the discussions in which you will have to take part it will be your duty to bear in mind that the frontier to be settled is one which Great Britain has undertaken, under certain conditions, and in certain contingencies to assist in defending. Her Majesty's Government are not desirous on that account that the provisions of the Treaty should be in any way strained in favour of Turkey, but they are naturally interested in seeing that none of the advantages secured to the Sultan by the work of the Congress should be impaired or lost in the settlement of the details.

For the same reason it appears to Her Majesty's Government to be a matter of considerable importance that that portion of the frontier which lies between Karaourgan and the Black Sea should not be settled without your having the opportunity of offering your opinion to the Turkish Commissioners upon the questions which may arise in regard to it. The Turkish Government have equally expressed their anxiety that they may have the benefit of your advice. I leave it to you to ascertain on your arrival at Constantinople whether any arrangements can be made for this purpose without giving rise to objections and protests on the part of the Russian Commissioners, and I shall be glad to learn from you by telegraph what plan you are able to suggest, or whether it will be expedient that your action should be limited to preliminary advice.

It only remains for me to request that you will continue to observe the instructions conveyed to you in my despatch No. 1, marked Confidential, of the 12th December last, as to keeping this Department and Her Majesty's Embassy at Constantinople informed of your proceedings.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 6.

Major Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received March* 28.)

(No. 15.)
Little Heathville, Old Charlton, March 27, 1879.

My Lord,

IN accordance with the instructions contained in the telegram from Lord Tenterden, dated Foreign Office, 25th March, 4·10 P.M., I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I have carried out those orders.

Captain Gill starts to-day to catch the Marseilles boat on Saturday. I have given him verbal instructions with regard to the trace of the frontier; also as to his duties on reaching Constantinople, and have addressed to him a letter, of which the inclosure is a copy.

I shall be glad to learn that your Lordship approves of my letter of instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

Inclosure in No. 6.

Major Clarke to Captain Gill, R.E.

War Office, March 26, 1879.

Sir,

IN accordance with instructions which I have received from Lord Salisbury, I have the honour to request that you will be good enough to proceed forthwith to Constantinople.

On arrival there you will place yourself in communication with Colonel Shehab Bey, the Ottoman Commissioner, and advise him with regard to the trace of the Turco-Russian frontier in Asia.

In this duty you will take as your guide the Treaty of Berlin (Article LVIII), following its provisions in the closest manner.

Two maps, showing the boundary as defined in that Treaty, are herewith inclosed for your guidance.

As explained to you in my verbal instructions, the Commission has, unless any recent change has taken place, been split up into two Sub-Commissions, of which one—the Batoum Commission—has to delimitate the frontier between the Black Sea and Mount Kessa Dagh, while the other—the Kars Sub-Commission—has to demarcate the boundary between Mount Kessa Dagh and the old Russian frontier.

Judging from the progress made by the Batoum Commission up to the suspension of its sittings in December last, it is exceedingly improbable that the deliberations of the Commission will reach, for some time to come, that part of Article LVIII—"jusqu'à un point à l'ouest près de Karaourgan"—when Her Majesty's Government have a voting voice in the proceedings.

Should they, however, by any chance, reach this point before my arrival, you will, in concert with the Turkish Commissioner, temporize, as no official deliberation with regard to the trace of the frontier from that point eastwards can take place without a reconstitution of the Commission and the presence of the British Commissioner.

In the same manner, and for the same reason, you can only take part in informal meeting of the Kars Sub-Commission.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

No. 7.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Malet.

(Extract.)
(Telegraphic.)
Foreign Office, March 29, 1879, 3·30 P.M.

MAJOR CLARKE, British Commissioner for the Asiatic frontier, is detained by indisposition, but Captain Gill, of the Royal Engineers, appointed to assist him, has started with the other officers.

No. 8.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Major Clarke.

(No. 19.)
Foreign Office, April 2, 1879.

Sir,

I HAVE received your despatch No. 15 of the 27th ultimo, and I have to state to you that I approve the instructions given by you to Captain Gill, of which a copy was inclosed therein.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 9.

Mr. R. Thomson to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 43.)

My Lord, *Tehran, February 25, 1879.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, copy of a communication which I have received from the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs sending me copy of a letter which he has addressed to the Turkish Ambassador here respecting the retrocession of Kotoor to Persia.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RONALD F. THOMSON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 9.

The Sepeh Salar to Mr. R. Thomson.

(Translation.) *February 24, 1879.*

THE Ottoman Government not having given up to the Persian authorities the whole of the Kotoor district, which was decided to be Persian territory at the Berlin Congress, through the intervention of the Representatives of the two mediating Powers (England and Russia), and the (continued) presence of Turkish troops in that territory, although legally they have no right to be there, thus becoming a source of mischief both on the spot and amongst the tribes, I have, therefore, addressed a note on the subject to the Ottoman Embassy, and herewith have the honour to inclose a copy of the same for your information.

Inclosure 2 in No. 9.

The Sepeh Salar to the Turkish Ambassador.

(Translation.) *February 24, 1879.*

I HAVE read with satisfaction your Excellency's letter of the 6th of Shabat, 1296 (18th February, 1879), conveying the contents of the cypher telegram received from the Government of Van with regard to giving up the Kotoor district to the Commissioner appointed by the Persian Government.

In reply, after thanking your Excellency for your good offices, I beg to state most respectfully that the Persian Government considers the Kotoor district which was decided to be Persian (territory) at the Berlin Congress, and which decision was ratified by His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, and which has to be made over to Persia, to consist of a valley nearly 9 farsakhs in length and running from west to east. It is bounded on the south by the Persian districts of Khaneek and Dereek and the Turkish one of Albagh; on the east by the interior of Persia and the plain of Khoi; on the north by the lands of Aland and Akhorek, Persian territory; and to the west and south-west by the mountains on the frontier which appear to be the Haranel range, which in fact is the joint chain to the Kandeel mountain, and the names of the passes, from where the Haranel range joins, are the pass of Kashkiaul, the Meer Omar mountain, the Kabeer mountain, the Nazzareh-aveh mountain and the Chehar Tak mountain. It also consists of forty populous villages.

Whatever has been made over to the Persian Commissioner has been duly taken possession of, but it is advisable that those parts which still remain in the hands of the Turkish authorities, and which have to be defined by the meeting of a Commission and its decision as to the limits of Kotoor, should be completely evacuated by the troops of both sides, as I mentioned to your Excellency personally.

I am in hopes that you will send immediate instructions or telegraph orders to the proper quarters to remove all Turkish troops from there, should there be any.

I rest fully confident in your Excellency's sense of friendship, and that you will make no objection to take this trouble.

No. 10.

Mr. Abbott to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 3.)

My Lord, *Tabreez, February 27, 1879.*

WITH reference to my despatch to your Lordship, marked No. 33 of the 9th December last, I have the honour to report that, on the 25th ultimo, the territory of Kotoor was formally ceded to Persia.

The Turkish Delegates present on the occasion were Mustapha Rifaat Effendi and Tahir Beys, Presidents of the Provincial and Municipal Councils at Van; and the Persian Government was represented by Mohammed Saduk Khan Emini Nizam, who took possession of Kotoor and occupied it with a battalion of infantry, 120 irregular cavalry, and two pieces of artillery.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM G. ABBOTT.

No. 11.

The Earl of Dufferin to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 7.)

(No. 63.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, March 28, 1879.*

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch No 46 of the 12th instant, I thought it advisable to draw the attention of the Russian Government to the accidental omission of the word "près" in the LVIIIth Article of the Treaty of Berlin, and I accordingly addressed a note to Prince Gortchacow, copy of which is herewith inclosed, on the matter.

I have now the honour to inclose the answer which I have received from the Prince, in which his Highness agrees to the introduction of the word omitted.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 11.

The Earl of Dufferin to Prince Gortchacow.

Mon Prince, *St. Petersburgh, March $\frac{17}{29}$, 1879.*

YOUR Highness is aware that by some oversight the text of the third paragraph of the LVIIIth Article of the Treaty of Berlin, as signed by the Plenipotentiaries, differs by the omission of the word "près" from the Article as it was drawn up and agreed to at the last sitting but one of the Congress on the 12th of last July.

Count Schouvaloff, on his attention being afterwards called by M. de Radowitz to the omission, acknowledged that to the best of his recollection the words "près du" after the word "l'ouest" and before "village" in the place attributed to them in Article LVIII were positively accepted by the Representatives taking part in the discussion.

In the belief that the Imperial Government see no objection to the re-establishment of the text as originally framed, I think it right to place on record that the word "près" having been omitted entirely by accident should be considered as inserted in the text, and, therefore, that the latter part of the LVIIIth Article of the Treaty of Berlin should be understood to run as follows, viz.:—

"D'un point à l'ouest près du village de Karaourgan la frontière se dirige sur Medjingert, continue en ligne directe vers le sommet de la Montagne Karsadagh et longe la ligne du partage des eaux entre les affluents de l'Araxe au nord et ceux du Mourad Sou au sud, jusqu'à l'ancienne frontière de la Russie."

I avail, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN.

Inclosure 2 in No. 11.

Prince Gortchacow to the Earl of Dufferin.

M. l'Ambassadeur, *St. Pétersbourg, le* 19 *Mars*, 1879.

J'AI eu l'honneur de recevoir la note de votre Excellence en date du $\frac{17}{5}$ de ce mois.

Elle relève une erreur de rédaction qui se serait glissée dans le troisième paragraphe de l'Article LVIII du Traité de Berlin et qui consisterait dans l'omission du mot "près" au passage désignant le village de Karaourgan comme point de départ de notre nouvelle frontière Asiatique dans la direction de Mendjingieert.

Votre Excellence demande le rétablissement de ce mot et s'appui à cet effet sur l'autorité de M. de Radowitz vis-à-vis duquel le Comte Schouvaloff aurait reconnu déjà à Berlin le bien fondé de l'observation en question.

Ne voyant pas d'inconvénient à admettre la correction que votre Excellence propose, je m'empresse de vous informer que le Cabinet Impérial y adhère pour sa part, et je saisis, &c.

(Signé) GORTCHACOW.

No. 12.

Major Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 8.)

(No. 18.)

My Lord, *War Office, April* 8, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, after an attentive study of the papers on Khotour which accompanied your Lordship's despatch No. 14 of the 28th March, that there are certain points upon which discussions may be raised, and upon which, therefore, it appears desirable to seek now your Lordship's instructions rather than, perhaps, have to make references from remote parts of Asia Minor.

In Article LX of the Treaty of Berlin it is stipulated that the Porte cedes to Persia the town and territory of Khotour as fixed ("tel qu'il a été déterminé") by the Mixed Anglo-Russian Commission for the delimitation of the frontiers of Turkey and of Persia.

The boundaries of Khotour have, however, as a matter of fact, never been defined. The nearest approach to a demarcation of the frontier was in a line agreed upon by Sir Arnold Kemball and the Russian Delegate as representing a compromise of conflicting interests, and which line they intended submitting to the Turkish and Persian Commissioners as a basis upon which a final adjustment was to be made. The outbreak of the Servian war put an end to any further negotiations on this subject, and the frontier line, although drawn on their respective maps, was never submitted by the foreign delegates to the Porte or to Persia.

It is possible, however, that Count Schouvaloff had cognisance of this suggested frontier line when he made use of the expression "tel qu'il a été déterminé."

And in the Protocol it was recorded "that, from the observations exchanged between Count Andrassy, Lord Salisbury, Carathéodory Pasha, and Count Schouvaloff, the boundary proposed for Khotour was identical with the one laid down some years back by the Anglo-Russian Commission."

The expression "some years back" removes the time to a period antecedent to the outbreak of the Servian war in 1876, which only happened two years before the Berlin Congress.

But as it is possible that the Russian Commissioner on the Boundary Commission may advocate an interpretation of Article LX in the above-mentioned sense, it seems desirable to be prepared beforehand.

Sir Edward Hertslet is of opinion that the territory ceded to Persia under Article LX is the whole of the district which was invaded after the signature of the Treaty of Erzeroum in 1847. Sir Arnold Kemball is, I understand, of the same opinion, and, certainly, after a careful reading of those papers, which have been sent to me, it seems difficult to arrive at any other interpretation.

But as Sir A. Kemball, in his despatch No. 9 of the 6th November, 1878, recommends for the consideration of the Porte, in addition to the retrocession of Khotour, the adoption of the line traced by the foreign delegates to the Commission as the result of their private deliberations for defining the common boundary of the two countries, Her Majesty's Government might consider it expedient to recommend the

joint line of Sir A. Kemball and his Russian colleague as the one to be adopted for Khotour.

Under these circumstances, as the Article in the Treaty is ambiguously worded, I have the honour to solicit your Lordship's instructions if I should interpret the Treaty as referring simply to a retrocession of the territory forcibly and unjustly seized by Dervish Pasha in violation of the *status quo* agreed upon by the Treaty of Erzeroum, or if I should propose, or lend my co-operation in support of, the provisional acceptation of the line agreed upon by Sir Arnold Kemball and his Russian colleague.

There being no documents before me to show what was the amount of territory seized on that occasion by Dervish Pasha, and not having as yet seen the map upon which Sir A. Kemball laid down his line,* I am unable to offer an opinion as to which interpretation would be most favourable to Turkey, and therefore to British interests.

2. The next point upon which I would beg your Lordship's instructions is as to the position of the Persian Delegate during the deliberations of the Commission. The Persians apparently assume that their Representative and the Turkish member are on the same footing, as is shown in the letter of Mohsin Khan to Safvet Pasha: "Il est évident par conséquent que les Commissaires de nos deux pays devront, de concert avec ces Délégués, s'occuper sur place de la délimitation des frontières de ce district (Khotour), &c." But it is a question if this position can be maintained, and if the Persian Representative has any *locus standi* on the Commission at all as an arbitrator. Is he not rather in the position of the Roumanian Delegates at the demarcation of the Roumano-Bulgarian frontier in European Turkey? If such be the case, his pleas would be heard and taken into consideration, but he would have no voice in the final arbitration on the boundary.

3. The next question I would beg to submit for your Lordship's consideration is my general bearing towards Persia. Is it the wish of Her Majesty's Government that the Treaty should be interpreted liberally towards Persia, or, on the other hand, do they wish to mark their dissatisfaction or displeasure by giving the least possible amount of territory to that Power as is consistent with a just but rigid appreciation of her claims?

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

No. 13.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Major Clarke.

(No. 21. Confidential.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 14, 1879.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 18 of the 8th instant, in which you request instructions on certain points connected with the settlement of the frontier to be assigned to the district of Khotour, ceded to Persia by Article LX of the Treaty of Berlin.

In regard to the first of these points, I am of opinion that the Commission should take as a basis for the demarcation the line agreed upon by Sir Arnold Kemball and the Russian Delegate on the Turco-Persian Boundary Commission. The Plenipotentiaries at Berlin had clearly in their mind a decision or recommendation made, or to be made, by that Commission, and in the absence of a formal award strictly corresponding to the words employed in the Treaty, it is reasonable to take the expression of opinion which most nearly fulfils the conditions, rather than to reopen the consideration of the whole question from a date much anterior.

In regard to the second point, Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the right of the Persian Government to be represented in the Commission for the Demarcation of the Khotour Boundary should be admitted.

The International Commission for the demarcation of the Frontiers of Bulgaria was constituted under an express provision contained in Article II of the Treaty of Berlin. The fact that Roumania was interested in a portion of the frontier did not warrant a different constitution of the Commission for that portion of its work. But, in the case of the Servian frontier, as to which no such express provision was made in the Treaty, the Servian Commissioner sat and voted with the Delegates of the

* This map is deposited in the Embassy at Constantinople, and Major Clarke proposes to search for it and send home a copy for the use of the Foreign Office.

Signatory Powers, and it may be presumed that the same course will be followed in the Commission about to meet to determine the new frontier of Montenegro.

The same rule seems applicable to the Commission for the Boundary of Khotour, as to the constitution of which the Treaty is silent.

As regards the principle by which you should be guided in the settlement of disputed points, I think it would be desirable that, without showing any disposition to reduce unfairly the amount of territory ceded to Persia, you should bear in mind the expediency of assigning to the Turkish dominions in Asia generally as good a strategic frontier as possible.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 14.

Captain Gill to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 16.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April* 4, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to report that, in accordance with instructions I received from Major Clarke, R.A., Asiatic Boundary Commissioner, I left England on Thursday, the 27th March, and arrived this day at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM GILL, *Captain, R.E.,*
Assistant Commissioner for the Delimitation of the Armenian Boundary.

No. 15.

M. Bartholomei to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 25.)

M. le Marquis, *Chesham House, le* $\frac{11}{23}$ *Avril*, 1879.

JE suis chargé par mon Gouvernement de vous faire une communication par rapport à la délimitation de Khotour.

Afin d'éviter tout retard et ne voulant pas déranger votre Excellence par un nouvel entretien, j'ai l'honneur de lui transmettre ci-près la substance de ce que j'aurais eu à lui communiquer.

Vous aurez l'obligeance de me faire part plus tard de la réponse que vous voudriez donner.

Me référant à ce que je vous ai soumis hier je me permettrai d'ajouter que la communication présente, quoique faite par écrit, tient lieu cette fois-ci d'une communication verbale et c'est en ce sens que vous aurez la bonté de la traiter.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) M. BARTHOLOMEI.

Inclosure in No. 15.

Memorandum.

LA Commission de Délimitation qui doit tracer la nouvelle frontière Asiatique, avec l'assistance des Délégués Anglais, à partir de Medjinguert, devra également s'occuper de la cession de Khotour à la Perse, conformément à l'Article LX du Traité de Berlin.

Il semblerait utile de convenir avec le Gouvernement Anglais de la base commune sur laquelle devra se poursuivre l'exécution de cette dernière partie de sa tâche.

L'Article LX du Traité de Berlin stipule que "la Sublime Porte cède à la Perse la ville et le district de Khotour, tel qu'il a été déterminé par la Commission Mixte Anglo-Russe pour la délimitation de la frontière de la Turquie et de la Perse."

La Commission dont il s'agit a siégé à Constantinople en 1875, mais a dû suspendre ses travaux à cause de la guerre sans les avoir terminés. Elle devait rétablir par rapport à Khotour et son district le *statu quo* territorial de 1846 conformément au Traité d'Erzeroum.

Il semblerait par conséquent résulter de l'esprit et de la lettre du Traité de Berlin que la nouvelle Commission de Délimitation devrait tout, comme celle de Constantinople, baser

son travail sur les stipulations du Traité d'Erzeroum, ayant en vue l'état des choses en 1846 quant à la circonscription territoriale du district de Khotour.

L'Ambassade de Russie à Londres est chargée de s'entendre à ce sujet avec le Gouvernement Britannique afin d'éviter tout malentendu éventuel.

No. 16.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Major Clarke.

(No. 24.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 28, 1879.

HER Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburgh reports that the Russian Government complain that you claim to reopen the discussion on the subject of the position of a point west of Karaourgan in the new Asiatic frontier of Turkey, which has already been agreed upon between the Russian and Turkish Commissioners.

Lord Dufferin has, in reply, informed Prince Gortchacow of the proceedings in the Commission, as reported in your telegrams, which give a very different impression of what has occurred.

I have requested you by telegraph this day to inform me of the exact state of the negotiations, and also of your opinion as to the strategic value of the spot in dispute.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 17.

Mr. R. Thomson to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 29.)

(No. 58.)
My Lord, *Tehran, March* 13, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, copy of a communication received by me, with its inclosure, from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, forwarding the answer of the Turkish Ambassador to the communication sent to him with respect to Kotoor as reported in my despatch to your Lordship No. 43 of the 25th of last month

I have, &c.
(Signed) RONALD F. THOMSON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 17.

Fakhri Bey to the Sepah Salar.

(Translation.) *February* 26, 1879.

I HAVE understood the contents of your Highness' note of the 24th instant, respecting the district as set forth in your letter, do not correspond with that which is deposited at this Embassy, but, as it is for the Boundary Commission to solve and decide this question, your Highness and myself are both perfectly absolved from discussing the matter; secondly, as respects the troops of both sides and the said lands, I acknowledge having arranged with your Highness that the neighbouring lands of the district should be evacuated by the military camps of the two Mahommedan Powers until the Commission has decided the respective boundaries, and I have also reported the same to the Sublime Porte at Constantinople.

Inclosure 2 in No. 17.

The Sepah Salar to Mr. R. Thomson.

(Translation.) *March* 2, 1879.

HAVING forwarded a copy of my letter of the 24th ultimo to the Ottoman Embassy in my letter of the same date to you respecting the removal of the Turkish troops from the district of Kotoor, I now also beg to inclose, with much respect, the reply of his Excellency the Turkish Ambassador to this Department under date of the 26th ultimo for your information.

No. 18.

Mr. Malet to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 29.)

(No. 328.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 18, 1879.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch which I have received from Captain Gill relative to the proceedings of the Asiatic Frontier Delimitation Commission.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 18.

Captain Gill, R.E., to Mr. Malet.

Sir, *Pera, April 17, 1879.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that I have had the opportunity of looking over the maps on which the new frontier between Russia and Turkey from the Black Sea to Kara-Ourgan—as agreed upon between the Russian and Turkish Commissioners—has been laid down.

As far as can be judged from the map (a Russian one), this frontier appears fairly in accordance with the Treaty of Berlin, and Chéhab Bey, the Turkish Commissioner, who is well acquainted with the ground, informs me that Russia has gained no material advantages beyond those ceded to her at the Congress of Berlin.

Discussion of the line from Kara-Ougan to the old Russian frontier awaits the arrival of Major Clarke, who is expected to-morrow.

Although General Stebnitzky is appointed Russian Commissioner for the Black Sea Kessadagh boundary only, he is, he informed me, armed with full powers for the discussion both of the Kessadagh Alashgerd line and of the Khotour boundary.

I would venture to point out that there is some advantage in the existing arrangements for the Russian and Turkish Commissions, by which they are divided, not at Kara-Ougan, where that portion of the frontier commences at the delimitation of which the English Representative has a recognized right to take a part, but at Mount Kessadagh; for thus a *locus standi* is given to the English Commissioner on the Black Sea Kessadagh frontier, by which he may be able to exercise some control over the delimitation between the Black Sea and Kara-Ougan, as well as between the latter place and Mount Kessadagh.

With regard to the Khotour boundary, a line was, as you are aware, agreed upon between Sir Arnold Kemball and his Russian colleague, during the existence of the last Commission. It is true that the Commissioners of the interested Powers declined to accept this line as a boundary, but a perusal of the protocols and other papers connected with the last Commission lead to the conclusion that it was mainly the action of the Turkish Representative that rendered the work of that Commission abortive.

Under these circumstances, it is to be hoped that no serious difference of opinion will arise between the Representatives of the mediatory Powers on the present Commission; and that the views of the Sublime Porte and those of the Delegates of the Shah of Persia may speedily be brought into accord.

General Stebnitzky, in a conversation with me, expressed his fears that the preliminary discussion of the Khotour question would occupy much valuable time; but as he was not aware that a boundary had been laid down both by Sir A. Kemball and by his Russian colleague on their working maps, and that these maps were in the British Embassy at Constantinople, I trust that General Stebnitzky may prove to be mistaken, and that there will not be a necessity for a great number of sittings at Constantinople for the consideration of the Khotour boundary, and that the departure of the Asiatic Commission will not be seriously delayed.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM GILL, *Captain, R.E.,*

Assistant Commissioner for the Asiatic Boundary Commission.

No. 19.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 278.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, May 1, 1879.*

THE Russian Chargé d'Affaires communicated to me on the 25th ultimo the substance of a telegram which he had received from his Government with regard to the settlement of the frontier of Khotour.

The demarcation of this boundary line is, as your Excellency is aware, to be intrusted to the Commission constituted, under the agreement signed by Count Schouvaloff and myself, for the settlement of the Asiatic frontier of Turkey in the valley of the Alashkerd.

The Russian Government think it would be desirable to settle the basis on which the Commission should proceed in this portion of its labours.

After observing that the LXth Article of the Treaty of Berlin states that the Porte cedes to Persia the town and territory of Khotour, "as fixed by the mixed Anglo-Russian Commission for the delimitation of the frontiers of Turkey and Persia," the telegram pointed out that the Commission in question had sat at Constantinople in 1875, but had been compelled to suspend its labours before bringing them to completion, in consequence of the outbreak of the war.

As, however, the Commission was to restore the territorial *status quo* of 1848 with regard to Khotour and its district, in conformity with the Treaty of Erzeroum, the Russian Government consider that the letter and spirit of the Treaty of Berlin require that the present Commission should also base its operations on the Treaty of Erzeroum, and have regard to the state of affairs in 1848 in tracing the limits of the district in question.

I have, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 20.

Major Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received May 2.)

(No. 19.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 20, 1879.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I arrived here last night, and immediately on landing placed myself in communication with Mr. Malet, Her Majesty's Minister.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

No. 21.

Major Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received May 2.)

(No. 20.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 20, 1879.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 20, covering Lord Dufferin's No. 68, with two inclosures, referring to the acknowledgment by the Russian Government of the omission of the word "près" from Article LVIII of the Treaty of Berlin.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE

No. 22.

Major Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received May 2.)

(No. 23. Secret.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, April 22, 1879.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Mr. Malet was kind enough to present me to-day to his Excellency Carathéodory Pasha, and at the interview Mr. Malet read extracts from the telegram which I had the honour to forward to you yesterday.

His Excellency, handing me the results of the deliberations of the Commission embodied in a formal document (translation inclosed), and delineated on a Russian map (of which I hope to send a tracing by next messenger), requested me confidentially to write him a Memorandum on the subject.

A copy of that Memorandum I have the honour herewith to submit, and I trust that it will meet with your Lordship's approbation.

Your Lordship will perceive that the main point in question is a divergence from the Treaty of Berlin, which I conceive has taken place in the interpretation of a clause in Article LVIII.

The whole question turns on the interpretation of the words "En ligne droite." The word "droite" in the Treaty can have no other meaning than "direct," *i.e.*, the shortest line. From the point south of Artwin and north-west of Khorda the frontier line should strike the river by the shortest line. The Russians, in order to gain more territory, have selected a line which strikes it at an oblique angle higher up the river, and the Turks have yielded. If we admit that a "ligne droite" is merely a straight line, of course an inconceivable number of straight lines might be drawn, and the Turks on their side might have claimed to draw a straight line to Batoum, which line would have equally come under the designation of "straight."

The direct or the shortest line then is the only one, I submit, which could have been contemplated by the Signatory Powers, and the Turks, by following the Russian interpretation, have lost territory.

It is the principle of the departure from the terms of the Treaty to which I hope the Turkish Government may be induced to offer opposition, for if it is departed from in this case we may have the Treaty set aside in others.

With regard to the tracing of a portion of the frontier beyond Kara-Ourgan, which appeared on the map submitted to Carathéodory Pasha by the Commission, and to which his Excellency's attention was particularly directed, Mr. Malet made the erasure from the map of the portion traced a condition of my sitting on the Commission.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE

Inclosure 1 in No. 22.

Translation of a Projet de Frontière submitted by the Turkish and Russian Commissioners for the consideration of their Governments.

CONFORMABLY to the Treaty of Berlin, and in part to the Treaty of San Stefano, as well as to the map attached to the XIXth Article of the latter, the new frontier between Russia and Turkey, commencing on the shore of the Black Sea at Cape Kopmoush, situated between the villages of Makriali and Abou-Islah, is continued to the summit of Mamath (or Zigaristé) by the line of water parting that divides the affluents of the Makriali-Sou and of the Itch-Kalé from those of the Hopa river; following the crest of the same ridge, which separates the affluents of the Mourgoul-Sou from those of the Hopa, the frontier reaches the summit of Daghis-Dagh. Thence it follows the line of water parting between the affluents of the Mourgoul-Sou and Hatila-Sou on the one side, and those of the Arkhavé and Cobikis-Tskali (an affluent of the Parkhal) on the other side; and still further, the frontier continues along the chain of mountains to the point to the south of Artwin and to the north-west of Khorda—a point which is within the triangle formed by the villages Tchatil-Tsvara, Tchikeloth, and Mélo (or Milo), and which is marked on the map.

From the point indicated to the south of Artwin and to the north-west of Khorda the frontier follows the River Sari-Sou to its junction with the River Milo-Sou; crosses this river, and follows the crest, as shown on the map, as far as the junction of the rivers Nikzovani and Tchoroukh.

From this point the frontier follows the "Thalweg" of the Tchoroukh to the junction of the River Hirs-Sou with the Tchoroukh, quits this latter and follows, as shown on the map, the crest on the east of the village of Erkinez, whilst it is continued to the summit lying on the east of the village of Avéréss and north-east of the village of Jschkhana; thence it follows the crest as far as the River Olti-Tchai, crosses this river, ascends again by the mountain chain situated between the two rivers shown on the map, and is continued, whilst it follows the most prominent ridges, which stretch towards the south, as far as the point to the south of Nariman fixed on the map.

From the point to the south of Nariman the frontier gains the chain of mountains,

strikes the River Toumbouli-Deressi, as shown on the map, and follows the river to a point shown on the map, which is about a verst and a half distant from Tebrenec. Thence the frontier again ascends the heights, taking a south-easterly direction, in conformity with the line marked on the map, and descends by the heights to the confluence of the Toumbouli-Deressi with the Bardouz-Sou. Beyond this the frontier follows this last-named stream to a point situated at about two verstes distant from Bardouz, gains the mountain in front of Bardouz, as shown on the map, and, by the line of water-parting and of the hills that stretch towards the south, strikes the point (indicated on the map) to the west of Kara-Ourgan, leaving Bardouz and Yeni-Koï to Russia.

The Russian and Ottoman Delegates are bound to conform to the accompanying map during the work of delimitation. The map which indicates the trace of the frontier from the Black Sea to the point to the south of Nariman is drawn on a scale of three Russian verstes to one English inch, or on the natural scale of $\frac{1}{126,000}$. The other part of the frontier has been traced on a map drawn to the scale of two Russian verstes to one English inch, or the natural scale of $\frac{1}{84,000}$. It is understood that the frontier villages shall pass to Russia, and *vice versâ*, with the lands of which the inhabitants are in actual possession, and consequently the frontier as traced on the map is liable to changes on either side, provided that such changes are not in contradiction to the natural frontiers, such as rivers, hills, and the crests of mountains.

It is also understood that the Russian and Ottoman Delegates will not take into consideration lands which are isolated or distant from the frontier.

We here express our personal opinion, and believe that the project for the trace of the frontier as it has been above described, and as we have drawn it on the accompanying map, is in conformity with the Treaty of Berlin, provided that it meets with the approbation of our respective Governments.

Constantinople, April $\frac{17}{29}$, 1879.

(Signed) NÉDJIB.
ALY.
FEYZY PASHA.
CHEHAB.
Le Général-Major,
J. STEBNITSKY.
L'Assesseur de Collège,
A. EMELIANOFF.

Inclosure 2 in No. 22.

Memorandum submitted to Carathéodory Pasha on the 23rd April, 1879.

(Translation.)

ACCORDING to Article LVIII of the Treaty of Berlin, "La nouvelle frontière partant de la Mer Noire conformément à la ligne déterminée par le Traité de San Stéfano jusqu'à un point au nord-ouest de Khorda et au sud d'Artwin, se prolonge en ligne droite jusqu'à la Rivière Tchorokh, traverse cette rivière et passe à l'est d'Ashmishen, en allant en ligne droite au sud pour rejoindre la frontière Russe indiquée dans le Traité de San Stéfano à un point au sud de Nariman, en laissant la ville d'Olti à la Russie. Du point indiqué près de Nariman la frontière tourne à l'est, passe par Tebrenec qui reste à la Russie et s'avance jusqu'au Pennek-Tchai. Elle suit cette rivière jusqu'à Bardouz, puis se dirige vus le sud, en laissant Bardouz et Yenikeni à la Russie."

That portion of the frontier delimitated by the Commission, commencing from the Black Sea, and terminating at a point north-west of Khorda and south of Artwin, appears to agree with that defined in the Treaty of San Stefano. After Artwin, Article LVIII stipulates that the frontier "se prolonge en ligne droite jusqu'à la Rivière Tchorokh, traverse cette rivière. . . ." Here the Treaty is perfectly clear. The frontier-line is to be traced from the point fixed to the south of Artwin at right angles ("ligne droite") to the general direction of the Tchorokh, and the line thence prolonged to the further or right bank of the river. But the frontier delineated by the Commission shows an important divergence from the terms of the Treaty, as, instead of crossing the river at once, "elle suit la Rivière Sari-sou jusqu'à sa jonction avec la Rivière Milo-sou, traverse cette rivière, et suit la crête. . . ." That is to say, the frontier remains on the left bank of the Tchorokh for a considerable distance.

In the next place the frontier, according to the Treaty of Berlin, "se prolonge en

ligne droite jusqu'à la Rivière Tchorokh, traverse cette rivière et passe à l'est d'Ashnishen, en allant en ligne droite au sud pour rejoindre la frontière Russe indiquée dans le Traité de San Stéfano à un point au sud de Nariman, en laissant la ville d'Olti à la Russie. . . ." That is to say, that after crossing the River Tchorokh, where the perpendicular line coming from the fixed point south of Artwin intersects the river, the frontier-line should run in a straight line to the fixed point south of Nariman, thus keeping to the east of Aschnishen. But according to the trace of the Commission the River Tchorokh is not crossed until a point near Zor, some 18 kilom. south of the point contemplated in the Treaty, and reaches Nariman by a circuitous bend; the whole of the band of territory included between the frontier so traced and the imaginary straight line lying all to the west, and therefore falling to Russia. In fact, at Olti the frontier-line lies at least 10 kilom. west of the town, for which there can be no reasonable motive.

The Treaty further goes on to say, "Du point près de Nariman la frontière tourne à l'est, passe par Tebrenek. . . ." Now there are two Tebreneks; one (that on Kiepert's map) to the east of Olti, the other to the south-east. The one selected by the Commission is the latter, whilst that which figures on Kiepert's map (the one used at the Berlin Congress) is ignored. Here again the trace of the frontier is favourable to Russia. Bardouz is also left 2½ kilom. to the east of the frontier.

As delineated by the Commission, the frontier is in my opinion given a trace more favourable to Russia along the whole line, and there are no corresponding compensations to Turkey.

As far as I can judge from the maps at my disposal, I consider that there is a loss to Turkey, along the whole line, of, approximately, 250 square kilom.

But the departure from the Treaty of Berlin is, to my mind, the most serious matter, as a question of principle is involved, and I am of opinion that the interpretation by the Commission of the words in Art. LVIII, "se prolonge en ligne droite jusqu'à la Rivière Tchorokh, traverse cette rivière, ..." which seem to me quite plain, is one which was not contemplated by the Signatory Powers.

There is one paragraph in the pièce diplomatique which to me seems objectionable; it is that which runs as follows:—"Les Délégués Russes et Ottomans sont tenus à se conformer à la carte ci-jointe lors des travaux de la Commission." This binds the Commission to accept the map submitted, with all its possible errors: an entirely new map, made by an interested Power. The condition at least should have been inserted that the map is subject to verification on the ground.

No. 23.

Mr. Malet to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received May 2.*)

(No. 337. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, April 23, 1879.*

WITH reference to my immediately preceding despatch, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that, in consequence of the information given to me by Major Clarke, which he telegraphed to your Lordship on the 21st instant, I went yesterday morning with him to see the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to inform his Excellency of the irregularity which had taken place in carrying the tracing of the new Asiatic frontier beyond Karn-Oughan, at which point it was understood that the participation of the English Commissioner should begin.

His Excellency, who had previously frequently stated to me his anxiety as to the proceedings of the Commission with no English officer at hand to advise, expressed great pleasure at seeing Major Clarke, and showed him all the maps and the only Report which he had hitherto received from the Commission.

Major Clarke pointed out to his Excellency that the whole of the tracing had hitherto been made to the advantage of Russia, and his Excellency requested the Major to furnish him with a confidential Memorandum which would enable him to reply efficaciously to the Report of the Commission. He observed that he had purposely limited the powers of the Turkish Commissioners, as he feared that working alone with the Russians their work would require revision.

He also requested me to address a note to him, requesting that the tracing of the bit beyond Karn-Oughan might be cancelled.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 24.

Mr. Malet to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received May 2.*)

(No. 338.) *Constantinople, April 23, 1879.*
My Lord,

MAJOR CLARKE, Her Majesty's Commissioner for the delimitation of the Asiatic frontier under the Treaty of Berlin, having informed me that, contrary to the understanding which had been come to, the tracing of the frontier had been carried by the Turkish and Russian Commissioners a little beyond Karaoughan, at which point the participation of the English Commissioners ought to begin. I have addressed a note to Caratheodory Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, requesting that the tracing of this piece of frontier may be cancelled.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure in No. 24.

Mr. Malet to Caratheodory Pasha.

Constantinople, April 22, 1879.
M. le Ministre,

AS your Excellency is aware, it has been understood between the Governments of England, Turkey, and Russia that the participation of England in the delimitation of the Asiatic frontier of Turkey, in pursuance of the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin, should begin at Karaoughan.

I have learnt that a small portion of frontier beyond Karaoughan has been traced previous to the arrival of Major Clarke, Her Majesty's Commissioner. I have, therefore, the honour to request that the tracing may be cancelled in order that the above-mentioned understanding may be in no way infringed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 25.

The Earl of Dufferin to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received May 5.*)

(No. 143.) *St. Petersburgh, April 27, 1879.*
My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a note which has been addressed to me by Baron Jomini in reference to Major Clarke and the Delimitation Commission on the Asiatic frontier of Turkey.

In reply, I have acquainted Baron Jomini with the very different version given by Major Clarke of the proceedings referred to.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

Inclosure in No. 25.

Baron Jomini to the Earl of Dufferin.

St. Pétersbourg, le 14/26 April, 1879.
My Lord,

NOUS venons d'être informés par le Prince Labanoff d'une difficulté suscitée par Mr. Clarke, le Délégué Anglais pour la délimitation en Asie Mineure, et qui arrête les travaux de la Commission. L'accord était déjà complet entre notre Délégué et le Délégué Turc sur la ligne frontière depuis la Mer Noire jusqu'à un point à l'ouest de Karaourgan. D'après ce dont nous étions convenus avec le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique, c'est depuis Karaourgan que devait commencer la participation du Délégué Anglais. Deux séances ont eu lieu sans résultat parce que Mr. Clarke réclame le droit qui ne lui appartient pas de déterminer le point à l'ouest de Karaourgan, déjà fixé d'un commun accord par notre Délégué et celui de la Porte. Vu l'urgence de terminer la délimitation, Prince Labanoff exprime le vœu que Mr. Clarke reçoive de Londres l'ordre de ne point insister sur cette prétention qui arrête les travaux.

Nous en informons M. Bartholomei par le télégraphe. Votre Excellence voudra peut-être aussi appuyer ce vœu par voie télégraphique auprès du Marquis de Salisbury.

Cet incident vint confirmer ce que nous disions hier du peu de confiance qu'on peut accorder aux décisions par les Commissions. Toutefois, les assurances si satisfaisantes que votre Excellence a bien voulu donner au Prince Chancelier sur l'esprit qui présiderait aux instructions du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique à ses Commissaires dans les Balkans, nous autorise à espérer que Mr. Clarke recevra aussi des instructions inspirées du même esprit.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) JOMINI.

No. 26.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Malet.

(No. 637.) *Foreign Office, May 5, 1879.*

Sir,

I APPROVE the note addressed by you to the Ottoman Minister for Foreign Affairs, and of which a copy is inclosed with your despatch No. 338 of the 23rd ultimo, requesting that that portion of the tracing of the frontier between Russia and Turkey in Asia, which has been carried beyond Kara-Ourgan previously to the arrival of the British Commissioner, may be cancelled.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 27.

Major Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received May 9.)

(No. 25. Secret.) *Constantinople, April 24, 1879.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I this day dispatched to the Foreign Office the following telegram in cypher:—

"Interview with my Turkish colleague of Batoum. At the meetings before my arrival he expressed views as to the trace of the frontier which coincide with my own, but he was overruled by the three Pashas who are attached to the Commission as consultative members. They should be removed. One of these, he says, is Russophil; the others are indifferent as to the result. Russian Commissioner is cunning enough to keep no Protocols, and consequently there is no record of opinion of the individual members to guide the Turkish Government in its ultimate decision.

"Caratheodory Pasha asked me to draw up a Memorandum on the project of frontier submitted by the Commission to the Porte. I have done so. The project is entirely in favour of Russia, and Turkey loses 250 square kilom. more than she should. The principle of a divergence from the Treaty of Berlin is involved, and I trust that the Turkish Government will reject the submitted project as a violation thereof. Explanatory despatch left by the messenger yesterday."

Since the Boundary Commission separated for the winter, the Porte, with the object, I presume, of strengthening the hands of its Commissioner, has appointed three Pashas to the Commission as consultative members, so that after entering the meeting-room on the occasion of the first séance I found (no previous intimation of the fact having been given either to Captain Gill or myself) that the members of the Commission consisted of the Russian Commissioner, the Russian Secretary, two Pashas (the third was absent), Shehab Bey (the regular Ottoman Commissioner), Captain Gill, and myself. As already mentioned in my telegram of the 21st instant, there was no President. No Secretary was present on the part of the Porte, and all that the Russian Secretary, who conducts himself like a Commissioner, apparently has done, is to commit to paper the detailed description of the project of frontier. There is no record whatever of the discussions which Shehab Bey states to have taken place.

From what passed between Shehab Bey and myself at our private meeting two days afterwards, the addition of those three Pashas has facilitated the Russian task. The senior, Nedjib Pasha, Sous-chef of the Staff at the Seraskeriate, is so taken up with the Committee sitting on the reorganization of the army, of which he is President, and other matters, that he pays little attention to the frontier question. The next

senior, Ali Nizam Pasha, is the one who plays the principal part on the Turkish side, but he follows the lead of the Russian Commissioner in everything, and is the "Russophil." The third is Feyzy Pasha, who at one time was one of the most talented Turkish officers, but is now about seventy-five years old, and is not always present at the meetings. Shehab Bey, in whom I had, and if removed from the influence of the others I should still have, every confidence, is the one who knows Anatolia the best, and to whom the Turkish Government would have been wise in continuing to commit its interests. His opinion has, however, been over-ruled on every occasion when it has differed from the others.

Now that the British Commissioner has arrived, I would beg to submit, according to the terms of the agreement of the 12th July and the spirit of the Treaty, that these three Pashas have no *raison d'être* on the Commission, and I think that Shehab Bey, with the support I give him, would be perfectly able to safeguard the interests of the Porte.

In my telegram of the 21st instant I mentioned to your Lordship that I feared that there was collusion between the interested Powers, Russia and Turkey. This impression is so far modified, that the collusion is between the Commissioners, and does not, so far as I know, reach to higher quarters. This impression is confirmed, not only by Captain Gill having been kept in the dark altogether with regard to the meetings of the Commission and their proceedings, but by the following circumstance:—At the meeting of the 21st instant, I requested to be furnished with a copy of the *pièce diplomatique* containing the project of frontier submitted to the Governments, and also a copy of the map with the frontier drawn. To this Ali Nizam Pasha, who was the chief speaker, assented. Shehab Bey told me that, after I left the room at the close of the séance to be introduced to the Minister of War, the Russian Commissioner asked him neither to give me the document nor the map. On returning to the meeting room after my interview with the Minister of War, Shehab Bey gave me the map, or rather the greater portion of it, with the frontier traced, but the promised copy of the project of frontier has never reached me, although, of course, I next day saw the original sent to Caratheodory Pasha, and, as your Lordship is aware, drew up a Memorandum upon it at his request.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

No. 28.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir A. H. Layard.

(No. 671.) *Foreign Office, May 12, 1879.*

Sir,

I HAVE had under consideration a suggestion made by Major Clarke, in his telegram of the 8th instant, that powers should be given to the Commission of which he is a member to decide by a majority of votes, so as to avoid the necessity for reference being made from distant parts of Asia Minor on questions which would involve only insignificant changes being made in the trace of the map to be prepared at Constantinople of the projected frontier in Asia between Russia and Turkey.

In reply, I have requested your Excellency by telegraph this day to inform Major Clarke that I do not think it would be advisable to establish the system of majorities on the Asiatic Commission, where only three Powers are represented.

It must be borne in mind that at the present moment there are indications that the Turks are not altogether disinclined to throw themselves into the arms of Russia; nor would it be prudent to lose sight of the fact that many of the Turkish officers are not proof against corruption.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 29.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Major Clarke.

(No. 29.) *Foreign Office, May 15, 1879.*

Sir,

I HAVE to state to you that the course you have pursued with regard to the points connected with the Boundary Commission, of which you are a member, as reported in your despatch No. 27 of the 29th ultimo, meets with my approval.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 30.

Mr. Malet to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received May* 16.)

(No. 367.)

Therapia, May 2, 1879.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch No. 338 of the 23rd ultimo, I have the honour to inclose herewith a copy of a note which I have received from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and of the answer which I have made to it, relating to the proceedings of the Commission for the delimitation of the Asiatic frontier under the Treaty of Berlin.

I had been pressing his Excellency to send an answer to my note of the 22nd ultimo, in order that the proceedings of the Commission might not be delayed, and his Excellency telegraphed yesterday to me to ask me to instruct Major Clarke to be present at the meeting which was to take place that day. The telegram only reached me at 5 P.M., too late for action, and I received the note this morning.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure 1 in No. 30.

Caratheodory Pasha to Mr. Malet.

Sublime Porte, le 1er Mai, 1879.

M. le Ministre,

J'AI reçu et communiqué au Ministère de la Guerre la note que vous avez bien voulu m'adresser le 22 Avril, relativement à la délimitation de la frontière Turco-Russe en Asie.

Il résulte de la réponse de son Excellence Ghazi Osman Pacha que le tracé effectué jusqu'à présent aboutit à Karaouglan, et qu'aucun travail au delà de ce point n'a été encore entrepris. Les Commissaires de Turquie et de Russie ne pouvaient, du reste, commencer cette démarcation en l'absence du Commissaire de Sa Majesté Britannique. Ainsi que je viens de vous l'annoncer, la Commission chargée de la délimitation de cette partie de la frontière Asiatique ayant tenu sa première séance aujourd'hui même, j'aime à espérer que le Major Clarke a bien voulu y assister.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé) A. CARATHÉODORY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 30.

Mr. Malet to Caratheodory Pasha.

Therapia, May 2, 1879.

M. le Ministre,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your Excellency's note of yesterday's date relating to the delimitation of the Asiatic frontier under the Treaty of Berlin, in which you conclude by saying that you hope that Major Clarke, Her Majesty's Commissioner, was present at the sitting which was to take place yesterday.

I regret to inform your Excellency that it was not possible for me to inform Major Clarke in time, as I only received your Excellency's telegram on the subject yesterday at 5 o'clock P.M., while the note itself reached me this morning.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

No. 31.

Major Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received May* 16.)

(No. 30. Secret.)

Constantinople, May 7, 1879.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I have despatched to the Foreign Office this day the following telegram:—

"At the meeting of the Commission yesterday the frontier beyond Karaourgan was declared to be erased.

"I endeavoured to carry the proposition that, when carrying out on the ground the demarcation of the boundary according to the trace to be agreed upon here, the majority should decide in the settlement of questions of detail, but that important deviations might be referred. Turks supported me. I quoted proceedings of Servian

Commission in support. Russian Commissioner, arguing that the Servian was an international Commission, refused his consent, but agreed to refer the matter to his Government. As references on petty details to Constantinople or St. Petersburg (from distant parts of Asia), would immensely impede progress of delimitation, I submit that Russian Ambassador in London might be moved to recommend this arrangement."

With regard to the question of Karaourgan, the President stated (*vide* Protocol) that neither the point west of Karaourgan, nor the subsequent trace to the south now existed on the map. Your Lordship will not fail to remark that the Commission found it difficult to get out of their mess, as will be seen from their plea that the red line was marked on the map by chance. I thought it unnecessary to pursue the subject further, but I might have remarked that the explanation offered would hardly account for the same red line being found on all the maps, including that officially submitted to the Turkish Government for approval. No! it was a bold but unsuccessful attempt on the part of the Russian Commissioner, who, it is needless to say, took the lead in all matters, to force on the British Commissioner part of a frontier traced to suit Russian ideas and wishes.

Your Lordship will perceive from the Protocol that, with regard to the frontier to be delimitated with the aid of the British Commissioner, our duties will be confined to preparing a project of frontier to be submitted for approval to our respective Governments. As my commission gives me full powers, I apprehend that I need only go through the form of submitting the project to your Lordship, provided it shows no deviation from the spirit of the Treaty of Berlin. I shall, of course, report to your Lordship any attempt on the part of either Russian or Turk to depart from that Treaty.

The proceedings of yesterday's meeting were marked by formality and order, as I had previously agreed with my Russian and Turkish colleagues as to the programme to be observed. The Protocols, drawn up by Captain Gill and Mr. Emilianoff from notes taken down by the former, will inform your Lordship of what took place on the occasion. The main points which I endeavoured to carry were, (1) that the opinions of each member were to be recorded on the Protocol as a guide to the respective Governments in forming a decision; (2) that the Russian map should only be accepted subject to verification, and that also we reserved the right to make maps of important points on a large scale if considered necessary; and (3) that the decision of the majority should decide in interpreting on the ground, in matters of detail, the project of frontier agreed upon here.

The two first points were carried, but the third was objected to by the Russian Commissioner. He, however, agreed to ask instructions from his Government. Should your Lordship have been pleased to adopt my suggestion of endeavouring to arrange through Count Schouvaloff that my proposition should be accepted, seeing that it is also supported by the Turks, a great saving of time and trouble, which endless references to Constantinople, St. Petersburg, and London will entail, would be effected.

With regard to the project of frontier between the Black Sea and Karaourgan, submitted to the Turkish Government by their Commissioner, Caratheodory Pasha sent my Memorandum on the subject to the Minister of War, who forwarded it to the Turkish Commissioners. The latter have called a meeting with their Russian colleagues for Thursday, at which they intend to reopen the whole question. If they only hold firmly to the views expressed in the Memorandum during the discussions which will ensue, but at which, of course, I have not the right to be present, the Turks will retain that territory which they would have otherwise lost, had their original project of frontier been accepted by their Government.

I have come to the conclusion that the Turkish Pasha, Ali Nizam, who is chiefly responsible for the trace of the frontier between the Black Sea and Karaourgan, erred in not looking out sufficiently for his country's interests, not from any corrupt motive, but simply from his being unable to appreciate the meaning of words and the punctuation of sentences employed in the Treaty, and allowing himself to be influenced in their interpretation by the opinions of the Russian Commissioners.

As I feel that all the Turkish Commissioners are with me, although I did not think so at the first meeting, I shall no longer press for their removal, more especially so as Caratheodory Pasha was desirous that the existing state of things should remain unchanged. In fact, I think it is better that they should remain on the Commission, as their united opinion will give weight to any proposition which I may have, or they may have, to bring forward.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

Inclosure in No. 31.

Protocole No. 1.—Séance tenue au Séraskérat, Stamboul, le 5 Mai, 1879.

Étaient présents :

Pour la Turquie—
Son Excellence Nédjib Pacha,
Son Excellence Ali Nizami Pacha,
Son Excellence Féyzi Pacha,
M. le Colonel Chéhab Bey.

Pour la Russie—
Son Excellence le Général Stébnitsky,
M. A. Emélianoff.

Pour l'Angleterre—
Major F. C. H. Clarke,
Capitaine W. Gill.

LA séance est ouverte à 1 heure et demie.

Son Excellence Nédjib Pacha prend la parole ainsi : "Maintenant que la Commission va être reconstituée à cause de la présence du Représentant de Sa Majesté Britannique, on doit procéder en règle et décider quelques questions préliminaires ; telles que l'élection d'un Président et la nomination des Secrétaires.

En outre, il croit de son devoir de déclarer que la Commission aura pour tâche d'étudier selon les instuctions de leurs Gouvernements respectifs et en conformité au Traité de Berlin le tracé de la nouvelle frontière entre la Russie et la Turquie en Asie Mineure à partir de l'ouest du village de Kara-Ourgan jusqu'à l'ancienne frontière de la Russie, et à proposer un projet de frontière.

M. le Général Stébnitsky parle en ces termes : "Messieurs, j'ai l'honneur de vous proposer de confier à son Excellence Nédjib Pacha la Présidence des travaux de la Commission."

Ces paroles ayant été accueillies par l'assentiment empressé de tous les membres de la Commission, *son Excellence Nédjib Pacha* exprime sa vive reconnaissance pour l'honneur qui lui vient d'être faite et il accepte la Présidence.

Le Général Stébnitsky propose comme Secrétaire M. Emélianoff ; *Majo Clarke* demande aussi la nomination du Capitaine W. Gill en même qualité.

Ces propositions reçoivent l'assentiment unanime de la Commission.

Son Excellence Ali Nizami Pacha prend la parole : "La première question qu'on a à aborder est celle des pleins pouvoirs. Les Délégués Turcs n'ont pas reçu de leur Gouvernement le pouvoir de fixer définitivement la ligne-frontière ; ils sont tenus seulement à exprimer leurs opinions et à soumettre à l'approbation de leur Gouvernement un projet de frontière."

Son Excellence Nédjib Pacha se trouve d'accord sur ce point ; il ajoute en outre que lui, Ali Pacha, et Féyzi Pacha n'ont pas des voix délibératives, mais qu'ils sont présents seulement pour exprimer leurs opinions personnelles, et que les vrais Commissaires sont M. le Colonel Chéhab Bey, M. le Général Stébnitsky, et M. le Major Clarke.

Le Major Clarke entend que la décision finale est réservée aux Gouvernements respectifs, et que, quoiqu'il soit lui-même muni des pleins pouvoirs, il réserve aussi à son Gouvernement le droit d'accepter ou de rejeter le travail de son Commissaire.

Le Général Stébnitsky est d'accord sur ce point.

Le Major Clarke est d'avis que les opinions et les paroles de chaque membre doivent être mentionnées dans les Protocoles afin de guider les Gouvernements respectifs dans leurs décisions finales ; car, selon lui, le procès-verbal ne doit pas être borné à une simple description de la frontière.

Cet avis est partagé de tous.

Le Major Clarke ayant reçu la permission du Président, donne lecture de la pièce suivante : "Excellence, à la première séance, après avoir vu la carte sur laquelle avait été tracé la ligne-frontière soumise par la Commission Russo-Turque à l'approbation de leurs Gouvernements respectifs, j'ai remarqué que non-seulement le point à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan y avait été fixé, mais encore la ligne-frontière y avait été tracée au delà de Kara-Ourgan. En outre, dans le procès-verbal qui accompagne la dite carte le paragraphe ayant rapport à cette partie de la frontière près de Kara-Ourgan est ainsi conçu : 'par la ligne de partage des eaux et des collines qui se dirigent vers le

sud (la frontière), aboutit *au* point (pas à *un* point mais *au* point) indiqué sur la carte à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan en laissant Bardouz et Yéni-Keuy à la Russie.'

"Sous ces circonstances, comme ce point et cette partie de la ligne doivent être déterminés par les Représentants des trois Puissances : Russe, Turque, et Britannique, je me suis trouvé dans la position désagréable de me séparer de mes honorables collègues jusqu'à ce que cette partie de la ligne soit entièrement rayée de la carte.

"Avant-hier j'ai appris qu'une communication a été faite à notre Ministre par son Excellence Carathéodory Pacha que la délimitation de la frontière Asiatique s'arrête à Kara-Ourgan.

"Peut-être votre Excellence voudra bien y ajouter quelques remarques explicatives."

Son Excellence Nédjib Pacha dit en réponse que dans les délibérations précédentes on s'est arrêté à Kara-Ourgan, mais comme chaque Délégué a exprimé son opinion et quelquefois même les membres de la Commission ont tracé des lignes sur la carte, il arriva que la ligne au delà de Kara Ourgan (dont vient de parler M. le Major Clarke) a été tracée avec un crayon rouge sur la carte employée par la Commission et soumise à l'approbation du Gouvernement Turc ; mais il assure le Commissaire Anglais que cette ligne rouge n'était pas une ligne arrêtée par la Commission. Quant au point à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan il n'était pas déterminé non plus, mais afin de donner une direction quelconque vers laquelle devait se diriger la ligne-frontière, le point en question a été choisi, mais indéfinitivement, et que par conséquent il reste un point à fixer.

Son Excellence Ali Nizami Pacha ajoute que non-seulement on n'a pas fixé le point, mais que même on n'a pas pu le faire ; on a seulement choisi le point en question pour diriger la ligne-frontière, et que la Commission peut maintenant commencer l'examen de ce point.

Son Excellence le Général Stébnitsky croit donc que la Commission pourrait commencer ses travaux.

Le Major Clarke, tout en exprimant la vive satisfaction que lui ont causée les explications données par son Excellence Nédjib Pacha, le Président, dit qu'il ne doute pas qu'elles seront aussi satisfaisantes à son Gouvernement.

Son Excellence Nédjib Pacha prenant la parole fait observer que la carte soumise à la Commission a été récemment faite sur une grande échelle et dressée par des topographes habiles. En outre, il exprime l'espoir qu'il sera facile à la Commission de déterminer approximativement la ligne-frontière dans les séances mêmes, et il demande l'indulgence des Commissaires pour leur expliquer le système dont on s'est servi dans la Commission précédente. On a suivi autant que possible le Traité de Berlin, et aux endroits où les indications précises manquaient ou bien n'étaient pas très-explicites, on a suivi le partage des eaux ou bien le cours des rivières ; et on a généralement donné la préférence au premier, parce qu'il exprime mieux la division des communes, les propriétés particulières pouvant se trouver souvent sur les deux bords d'une rivière, tandis que cela arrive rarement en suivant les crêtes des montagnes.

Son Excellence Ali Nizami Pacha est parfaitement d'accord avec son Excellence Nédjib Pacha, que les crêtes sont préférables aux cours d'eau comme frontière. Quant à la manière de faire la démarcation sur les lieux, il affirme que dans la délimitation de la Bessarabie, quand le terrain était tout plat, on a creusé généralement une fossée et on a érigé des pyramides sur certains points, et sur les crêtes on a placé des pierres.

Le Major Clarke exprime son opinion que sans doute il faut déterminer sur les lieux mêmes les emplacements des marques de bornage, mais il croit que c'est plutôt la tâche des Puissances limitrophes de faire ériger les pyramides ou bien de creuser les fossées. Il désire savoir l'opinion de la Commission à cet effet.

Son Excellence le Général Stébnitsky croit que la Commission doit d'abord fixer les places des marques de bornage et ensuite retourner afin de voir si celles-ci ont été dûment placées.

Tous les membres de la Commission se trouvent d'accord à cet égard avec le Général Stébnitsky.

Le Major Clarke, en abordant la question des cartes, dit que malgré l'exactitude des cartes Russes, elles peuvent être sujettes à des erreurs particulières ; il observe qu'il y a des endroits où les indications ne sont pas très-claires, et qu'il y en a d'autres pour lesquels, selon lui, il sera nécessaire de dresser des cartes spéciales sur une plus grande échelle. Il désire savoir en outre si la Commission prendra pour base de ses délibérations la carte présentée par le Commissaire Russe.

Son Excellence Ali Nizami Pacha exprime son adhésion aux vues du Major Clarke.

Le Major Clarke croit qu'on puisse accepter la carte Russe comme base générale, mais qu'il faudra (comme il vient de le dire) dresser des cartes pour les points les plus importants sur une échelle plus grande.

Les autres Commissaires partagent cette opinion.

Le Major Clarke désire savoir comment il faut décider une question quelconque sur les lieux, lorsque les Commissaires ne seront pas d'accord. Sera-t-elle décidée par la majorité, ou bien sera-t-elle référée aux Gouvernements respectifs?

Son Excellence le Général Stébnitsky est de l'avis que s'il s'agit d'une grande divergence du tracé fait sur la carte, on doit se référer à la décision des Gouvernements respectifs.

Son Excellence Nédjib Pacha croit que la carte topographique Russe facilitera les décisions à prendre, et que peu de questions resteront à être réglées sur les lieux.

Son Excellence Ali Nizami Pacha fait observer que quoique la carte Russe soit dressée avec une grande exactitude, néanmoins il sera nécessaire de la vérifier. Quant à la question des décisions à prendre, il peut arriver qu'il y ait deux ou trois villages du même nom, en ce cas il croit qu'il sera du devoir des Commissaires de se reporter à la décision de leurs Gouvernements respectifs; mais si la question est de peu d'importance il faut donner aux Commissaires le pouvoir de décider sur les lieux, et il pense que les Protocoles doivent démontrer que ce pouvoir est décerné aux Délégués.

Son Excellence le Général Stébnitsky partage l'opinion de son Excellence Ali Nizami Pacha, et croit qu'avant toute action sur les lieux, il faut vérifier la carte.

Son Excellence Nédjib Pacha demande au Commissaire Russe s'il a les pleins pouvoirs sur les lieux.

Son Excellence le Général Stébnitsky répond qu'il en a.

Son Excellence Ali Nizami Pacha est d'avis que si les Gouvernements acceptent la ligne-frontière qui sera proposée, les Commissaires doivent avoir le droit de faire des changements de peu d'importance sur les lieux, prenant en considération les intérêts locaux, mais pour les grandes questions ils doivent se référer à leurs Gouvernements respectifs.

Le Major Clarke exprime l'opinion qu'on doit décider par la majorité les questions de détail dans lesquelles les Commissaires ne seront pas d'accord sur les lieux.

Son Excellence le Général Stébnitsky dit qu'il n'y a point d'échelle générale pour reconnaître les grandes questions et les petites questions, toute chose pouvant être envisagée sous différents points de vue et recevoir simultanément plusieurs degrés d'importance. Ceci est surtout applicable aux questions de frontière où les questions de détails même pourraient être appréciées différemment pour les raisons qui précèdent.

Il n'admet pas que les décisions sur les lieux soient basées sur le principe de majorité de voix; il préfère soumettre toute décision concernant n'importe quelle question de frontière de la compétence de la Commission à l'entente des Délégués, et les divergences aux Gouvernements.

Le Major Clarke est au contraire de l'avis qu'elles doivent être décidées par la majorité afin d'éviter les références continuelles aux Gouvernements, et il croit qu'on ne peut pas toujours espérer l'unanimité même dans les questions d'une moindre importance.

Son Excellence le Général Stebnitsky pense qu'il n'y a pas lieu de croire à quelques difficultés qui pourraient empêcher la Commission de poursuivre les travaux avec succès; il est plutôt pour le contraire.

Son Excellence Ali Nizami Pacha pense qu'il ne sera pas difficile de décider quelles sont les questions d'une importance particulière.

Son Excellence le Général Stébnitsky fait observer qu'il y a seulement deux Commissaires pour une section de la délimitation et qu'il y en a trois pour l'autre, et que si la décision est prise à la majorité dans la dernière section il y aura alors deux systèmes pour les deux sections de la même Commission.

Le Major Clarke dit que la Commission a été reconstituée; que maintenant il s'agit seulement de la question du travail de la nouvelle Commission, et que les Commisaires pour les deux sections se basent sur différents systèmes; il ajoute que dans la Commission pour la délimitation de la Serbie on a accepté la décision à la majorité.

Son Excellence le Général Stébnitsky fait remarquer que la Commission pour la Serbie était une Commission Européenne, comme il est dit même dans le Protocole du Congrès de Berlin. Quant à la présente Commission il y est dit qu'il y aura seulement un Délégué Russe, un Délégué Ottoman, et un Délégué Britannique.

Le Major Clarke est de l'avis que cette Commission aussi est internationale, et

qu'elle présente un parallèle à celle de la Serbie, où les décisions sur les questions de détails étaient prises à la majorité.

Son Excellence le Général Stébnitsky prie M. le Président de lire le Protocole 18 du Congrès de Berlin où il est dit qu'il n'y a pas lieu d'envoyer une Commission Européenne pour faire des délimitations de frontière en Asie.

Le Président donne lecture des termes suivants du Protocole 18:

"Le Comte Schouvaloff fait savoir au Congrès. . . .

"Le Comte Schouvaloff répond qu'il n'y a pas lieu d'envoyer une Commission Européenne pour faire des délimitations de frontière en Asie.

"Aucune observation n'étant présentée au sujet de la délimitation en Asie, le Président déclare que l'accord intervenu est accepté par le Congrès."*

Le Major Clarke regrette que les Commissaires ne sont pas tombés d'accord sur cette question de détail.

Son Excellence le Général Stebnitsky ne peut pas consentir à changer les idées du Congrès de Berlin parce que ce n'est pas une Commission Européenne.

Son Excellence Nédjib Pacha dit qu'il est bien entendu que si les Délégués ne peuvent pas tomber d'accord sur les lieux, ils doivent se référer à leurs Gouvernements respectifs.

Son Excellence Ali Nizami Pacha regrette que les Commissaires ne consentent pas à décider les questions de moindre importance par la majorité de voix; il ajoute ensuite que proprement dit cette question ne les concerne pas et qu'elle doit être réglée par les Délégués eux-mêmes.

Son Excellence le Général Stébnitsky fait observer que c'est une question de principe et qu'il ne peut pas y consentir.

Le Major Clarke ne la considère point comme question de principe, mais comme question de détails.

Son Excellence Féyzi Pacha est aussi de l'avis que les questions de peu d'importance doivent être décidés par la majorité.

Son Excellence Nédjib Pacha demande si le Général Stébnitsky aura la complaisance de parler à son Ambassadeur à propos de la question de majorité.

Son Excellence Général Stébnitsky promet d'en référer à son Ambassadeur, et maintient son opinion par rapport à la question de majorité et se déclare pour le principe d'entente.

Son Excellence Nédjib Pacha, tout en remerciant le Général Stébnitsky, ne peut pas s'abstenir de recommander le système de la majorité à ses honorables collègues.

La séance est levée à 3 heures.

No. 32.

Major Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received May* 22.)

(No. 31.) *Constantinople, May* 14, 1879.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 26 of the 1st instant, transmitting two copies of the Map of Khotour.

In accordance with the instructions therein contained, I have the honour to return herewith one of the copies with the boundary marked upon it by a dotted red line, in *facsimile* of that shown on the map deposited in the archives of the Embassy, and prepared by Sir Arnold Kemball and his Russian colleague.

I have, &c

(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

No. 33.

Major Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received May* 22.)

(No. 33.) *Constantinople, May* 14, 1879.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that on the 8th instant I forwarded to the Foreign Office the following telegram:—

"A project of frontier will be drawn up here on a large-scale map. This project,

* Correspondence relating to the Congress of Berlin, with the Protocols of the Congress: Turkey, No. 39, 878, page 262.

when approved, will have to be carried out on the ground. In this demarcation on the ground, owing to the inadequacy of the map, differences of opinion will arise as to the trace; for instance, in the neighbourhood of a village, how to avoid separating it from its lands, the determination of the principal watershed, &c. The map being on a large scale, great deviations need not be anticipated; but to decide small changes, it seemed desirable, in order to avoid continual references from distant parts of Asia, to have the power of deciding by a majority of votes. The Turks took the same view. The Russian Commissioner opposed, and said that every trifling difference must be referred to the Governments. Hence my suggestion to bring pressure upon him through Count Schouvaloff."

The above telegram was dispatched in explanation of my telegram of the 7th instant to your Lordship, which had reached London in an unintelligible state.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

No. 34.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Major Clarke.

(No. 34.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, May 24, 1879.*

I HAVE received your telegram of yesterday's date, stating the course you have taken in regard to an attempt made by the Russian Commissioners to re-establish the tracing of the frontier-line beyond Karaourgan, which had been marked on the map before you had arrived at Constantinople, and which they had subsequently undertaken to erase.

I understand from your Report that the tracing in question would seriously affect the defensive value of the Turkish position at Zewin, and I have informed you by telegraph that you are justified in firmly refusing any arrangement by which that position would be compromised. The efforts of the British Plenipotentiaries at Berlin during the latest negotiations on the Asiatic frontier were entirely directed to the retention by Turkey of this point of defence.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 35.

Major Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received May 26.)

(No. 35.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, May 19, 1879.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a letter which I have addressed to his Excellency Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Sublime Porte, after an interview with Caratheodory Pasha, with reference to the Project of Frontier submitted by the Russo-Turkish Commission to their respective Governments.

I have prepared a second Memorandum, with detailed arguments, supporting my assertions with regard to the one-sided trace of the frontier, and I shall send this to-morrow to his Excellency for transmission to the Porte.

I think my interview has been productive of some good, inasmuch as the President of the Commission, Nedjib Pasha, told the Russsian Delegates in my presence to-day that the Turkish Government had returned the Project of Frontier for further consideration, and that he intended, in consequence, proposing some modifications. I also noticed that the position of the Turkish Commissioner, Shehab Bey, at the séance which followed, was much improved, as his opinion was asked for, whereas, hitherto, he had been a mere cypher.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

Inclosure in No. 35.

Major Clarke to Sir A. H. Layard.

Sir, *Pera, May 17, 1879.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that I had an interview with Caratheodory Pasha this morning with reference to the subject upon which I sought your Excellency's advice yesterday, viz., the virtual rejection of my Memorandum on the Project of Frontier (between the Black Sea and Kara-Ourgan) submitted by the Boundary Commission to their respective Governments.

He read to me the letter of the three Turkish Pashas addressed to the Minister of War, and forwarded by the latter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. This letter did not bear the signature of the proper Turkish Commissioner, a circumstance which I pointed out to Caratheodory Pasha; and I further told him that Shehab Bey, the Commissioner in question, entirely agreed with me, and that was the reason why the Pashas had not consulted him when drawing up their reply. I moreover pointed out that some of the questions brought forward in my Memorandum were not touched upon.

He ultimately said that as a decision on the matter might evoke reclamations on the part of Russia, he should prefer that the responsibility of a decision be shared by others, and that, therefore, he proposed to refer the subject at issue to a Council of Ministers.

In this event I should be prepared, with your Excellency's sanction, to draw out a fuller Memorandum than the first, with the arguments more in detail.

At the same time, judging from the general look of affairs, and from the way in which their Commissioner has been treated, his opinions having throughout been completely ignored, I fear that, whoever the deciding body may be, we shall find the decision of the three Pashas upheld, and, in all probability, Shehab Bey, whom I believe to be an honest man, removed from the Commission. The three Pashas, unwilling to stultify themselves by admitting that their interpretation of the Treaty was a wrong one, naturally support one another, although only one, Ali Nizami Pasha, is really responsible for the trace of the frontier, the other two having played an entirely subordinate part.

I took the opportunity to emphasize to Caratheodory Pasha the importance attached by Her Majesty's Government to the frontier being delimitated in accordance with the strict letter of the Treaty of Berlin, and also reminded him that on more than one occasion the Porte had, of its own motion, expressed itself desirous of having the benefit of the advice of the British Commissioner with reference to that portion of the frontier between the Black Sea and Kara-Ourgan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

P.S.—Colonel Wereguine called on me to-day, and said that he had been deputed to serve on the Boundary Commission during the absence, through illness, of General Stebnitzky, the Russian Boundary Commissioner.

F. C. H. C.

No. 36.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Colonel Clarke.

(No. 36.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, May 28, 1879.*

I HAVE received your telegram No. 44 of yesterday's date, in which you mention that, at the meeting of the Commission on the 24th instant, great stress was laid by the Russian Commissioner on the recital of the proposed Asiatic frontier in Protocol 17 of the Congress of Berlin, where it is stated that the frontier "will rejoin the line fixed by the Treaty of San Stefano at Zewin Kale."

You remark that the omission of all reference to Zewin Kale in the Treaty argues that the drawers of that instrument must have had good grounds for the change of wording in some transactions which occurred subsequently to the sitting of the 10th July, recorded in the Protocol in question.

I have referred you, in reply, to the statement read by Prince Hohenlohe, in the sitting of the following day, recorded in the 18th Protocol. You will find in that

statement an account of the objections made by the British Plenipotentiaries to the proposed frontier-line, and of the acceptance by the Russian Plenipotentiaries of an arrangement withdrawing "the frontiers of the Treaty of San Stefano to the points to the west of Karaourgan and of Kessadagh."

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 37.

Count Schouvaloff to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received May 29.)

M. le Marquis, *Londres, le 29 Mai*, 1879.

JE viens de recevoir par le télégraphe la notification officielle, que Sa Majesté l'Empereur, mon auguste Maître, a désigné M. le Général-Major Zolënoï comme remplaçant du Général Stébnitzky, Délégué Impérial à la Commission de Délimitation en Asie, lequel est empêché par maladie d'exercer ses fonctions.

En portant cette information à la connaissance du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique, je saisis, &c.

(Signé) SCHOUVALOFF.

No. 38.

Sir A. H. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received May 30.)

(No. 426.)
My Lord, *Therapia, May 22*, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a despatch from Major Clarke relative to the proceedings of the Commission for the delimitation of the Asiatic frontier. I also inclose copy of a Memorandum drawn up by Major Clarke, which, at his request, I have caused to be delivered to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 38.

Major Clarke to Sir A. H. Layard.

Sir, *Constantinople, May 19*, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that I have this day dispatched to the Marquis of Salisbury the following telegram:—

"A fortnight has elapsed since the last meeting of the Commission, owing to the illness of the Russian Commissioner. His Adjoint (Colonel Wereguine) appeared at the meeting to-day, and although he told me that he was to have full powers, he has to refer all points in dispute to his Chief. This will give rise to great delay, entailing expense on Her Majesty's Government.

"The first subject under discussion was that of Karaourgan. The Russian Delegate, in spite of the President's statement at the first meeting (see Protocol), sought to reopen the question of the right of Her Majesty's Government to assist in the determination of the point west of Karaourgan, and as he began to talk of Ziwin-Kale, my suspicions were aroused. After hearing explanations I said that although I could not renounce my right on the part of Her Majesty's Government to fix the point, still I was prepared, in order to facilitate matters, to accept a point west of Karaourgan, actually on the frontier already delimitated, as a point of departure for our discussions. This point is on the crest of the hills at a distance of 700 yards. The Russian will ask instructions from his Commissioner."

As your Excellency is aware, the condition under which I consented to commence the work of the Commission was that the frontier beyond Karaourgan, traced by the Russians and Turks without my assistance or concurrence, should be erased. At the first meeting, on the 5th instant, the President of the Commission declared that not only was the frontier beyond Karaourgan erased from the map, but that the position of the point

west of Karaourgan had yet to be chosen with the assistance of the British Commissioner. All this appears on the Protocols, and the Russian Commissioner, who was present, made no observation. I thereupon took it for granted that the Russian Commissioner concurred in what had fallen from Nedjib Pasha, the President.

Under these circumstances, I entered upon the work of the Commission. At the second meeting, held this day, there took place that which is summed up in the foregoing telegram. The object of the Russian Delegate was to endeavour to force upon me a point which, if followed out, would have encroached upon the Ziwin position, which, as your Excellency is aware, is of great importance for Turkish defence, and was, moreover, stoutly contested for by the Representatives of Her Majesty's Government at Berlin.

I cannot but characterize it as a want of good faith that, after inducing me to take part in the work of the Commission by an assurance that the point west of Karaourgan had yet to be determined by the Representatives of the three Powers, the Russians should reopen the question of the right of Great Britain to take part in its determination.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 38.

Memorandum.

"SELON l'Article LVIII du Traité de Berlin, la nouvelle frontière partant de la Mer Noire conformément à la ligne déterminée par le Traité de San Stéfano, jusqu'à un point au nord-ouest de Khorda et au sud d'Artwin, se prolonge en ligne droite jusqu'à la Rivière Tchorokh, traverse cette rivière et passe à l'est d'Aschmischen, en allant en ligne droite au sud pour rejoindre la frontière Russe indiquée dans le Traité de San Stéfano, à un point au sud de Nariman en laissant la ville d'Olto à la Russie. Du point indiqué près de Nariman, la frontière tourne à l'est, passe par Tébroneh qui reste à la Russie et s'avance jusqu'au Pennek-Tchaï. Elle suit cette rivière jusqu'à Bardouz, puis se dirige vers le sud, en laissant Bardouz et Yeni-Keui à la Russie."

La partie de la frontière délimitée par la Commission partant de la Mer Noire et aboutissant à un point nord-ouest de Khorda et au sud d'Artwin, paraît être d'accord avec celle définie par le Traité de San Stéfano.

Après Artwin, l'Article LVIII stipule que "la frontière se prolonge en ligne droite jusqu'à la Rivière Tchorokh, traverse cette rivière."

Ici le Traité est parfaitement clair; la ligne-frontière à partir du point fixé, au sud d'Artwin, doit être tracée perpendiculairement (en ligne droite) à la direction générale du Tchorokh, et doit être prolongée jusqu'à la rive droite de la rivière.

Evidemment la seule interprétation qu'on puisse donner aux mots "en ligne droite" c'est la perpendiculaire, car si on admet la ligne droite être simplement une ligne directe, c'est clair qu'on peut tracer un nombre innombrable de lignes directes partant du point au sud d'Artwin et aboutissant sur différents points du fleuve Tchorokh. Toutes ces lignes seront comprises sous la désignation de "directe," mais il n'y a qu'une seule ligne droite, c'est la plus courte, le perpendiculaire. C'est exactement pour éviter cette difficulté qu'on a précisé la direction de la frontière d'une manière explicite par l'emploi des mots "ligne droite." Mais la frontière délimitée par la Commission montre une divergence importante des termes du Traité, et au lieu de traverser la rivière directement "elle suit la Rivière Sari-Sou jusqu'à sa jonction avec la Rivière Milo-Sou, et elle traverse cette rivière et suit la crête." C'est-à-dire que la ligne-frontière reste à la rive gauche du Tchorokh à une distance considérable.

En second lieu, la frontière d'après le Traité de Berlin, "se prolonge en ligne droite jusqu'à la Rivière Tchorokh, traverse cette rivière, et passe à l'est d'Achmischen, en allant en ligne droite au sud pour rejoindre la frontière Russe indiquée dans le Traité de San Stéfano à un point au sud de Nariman, en laissant la ville d'Olti à la Russie." C'est-à-dire, la ligne-frontière après avoir traversé le Tchorokh à l'endroit même où la ligne perpendiculaire venant du point fixé au sud d'Artwin se croise avec la rivière, et après avoir gagné la crête sur la rive droite, doit se diriger directement jusqu'au point fixé au sud de Nariman, ainsi passant à l'est d'Achmischen. Mais d'après le tracé de la Commission, la rivière de Tchorokh n'est traversée qu'à un point près de Zor, à 18 kilom. au sud de l'endroit envisagé par le Traité, et atteint Nariman par un détour considérable; toute la bande de terrain comprise entre la frontière ainsi tracée et la ligne droite imaginaire se trouvant à l'ouest, reste, par conséquent, à la

Russie. En effet, à Olti, la ligne-frontière se trouve au moins à 10 kilom. à l'ouest de la ville sans aucun motif raisonnable.

Il est, sans doute, à la connaissance de tous, qu'à Berlin il y a eu une grande discussion à propos de la possession ultérieure d'Olti, une ville d'une grande importance stratégique à cause de sa position au débouché d'un défilé, et c'est seulement au dernier moment que le Congrès a décidé que la ville d'Olti soit cédée à la Russie. En présence de l'importance du terrain dans cette partie, c'est difficile à comprendre pourquoi la frontière projetée a été tracée à une telle distance à l'ouest de la ville. On ne peut pas avancer que les limites de la ville peuvent s'étendre jusqu'à une distance de plus de 10 kilom, car, en examinant la carte, on ne peut pas manquer de remarquer qu'entre la ville et la frontière proposée il y a des villages, tels que Tagurus, Tamrut. Je regarde cette partie du tracé comme très-importante.

De plus, le Traité continue ainsi: "Du point près de Nariman, la frontière tourne à l'est, passe par Tchenek." . . .

Or, il y a deux Tébreneks; l'un d'eux, indiqué dans la carte de Kiepert, se trouve à l'est d'Olti, et l'autre est situé au sud-est. C'est ce dernier que la Commission a choisi, tandis que l'autre qui se trouve sur la carte de Kiepert (celle dont le Congrès de Berlin s'est servi) est ignoré. Tébrenck se trouve différemment placé sur les deux cartes de Kiepert (la vieille carte et la nouvelle de l'année 1877). Sur la première sa position est environ E. 12° N. d'Olti, sur la dernière E. 15° S., par conséquent assez conforme sous le rapport de direction au Tébrenck Supérieur et au Tébrenck Inférieur, respectivement, de la nouvelle carte Russe. Comme la position du Tébrenck du Traité n'est pas claire, il s'ensuit qu'en premier lieu on devrait chercher sur la carte les accidents de terrain, surtout les crêtes, afin de donner une frontière naturelle. Cette frontière naturelle on peut trouver sur la crête bien marquée d'Abussar-Dagh. Une bonne frontière pourrait être parfaitement bien tracée de Nariman en suivant la longueur de la chaîne d'Abussar-Dagh et aboutissant au Peunck-Tchai, à l'est de Portuss. Alors Tébrenck Supérieur appartiendrait à la Russie et Tébrenck Inférieur à la Turquie—une division très-juste quand il y a ambiguïté dans le Traité. Mais l'étendue de terrain en dispute est ici très-petit, et je n'en aurais pas fait aucune mention si ce n'est que dans un autre cas pareil, c'est-à-dire, dans la fixation du point au sud d'Artwin et au nord-ouest de Khorda, l'interprétation accordée aux termes du Traité de Berlin par la Commission a été en faveur de la Russie.

Encore une fois, le tracé de la frontière est favorable à la Russie. Bardouz aussi est laissé à une distance de 2½ kilom. à l'est de la ligne-frontière.

A mon avis la ligne-frontière délimitée par MM. les Commissaires est tracée sur toute sa longueur en faveur de la Russie sans compensation équivalente pour la Turquie.

Tant qu'il me soit possible de juger d'après les cartes mises à ma disposition, je trouve qu'il y a une perte approximative de 250 kilom. carrés pour la Turquie.

Selon mon opinion la divergence des termes du Traité est la chose la plus grave, car il s'agit d'une question de principe, et je suis de l'avis que l'interprétation donnée par la Commission aux mots suivants de l'Article LVIII: "se prolongé en ligne droite jusqu'à la Rivière Tchorokh, traverse cette rivière" . . . . (selon moi, bien explicites) est une interprétation que les Puissances Signataires n'avaient jamais en vue.

Il y a un paragraphe dans la pièce diplomatique qui me semble être inadmissible, et qui est ainsi conçu:—"Les Délégués Russes et Ottomans sont tenu à se conformer à la carte ci-jointe lors des travaux de la Commission." Cela engage la Commission d'accepter la carte soumise avec toutes ses erreurs possibles, une carte entièrement nouvelle et dressée par une Puissance intéressée. La condition doit être du moins insérée que la carte est sujette à la vérification sur le terrain même.

No. 39.

Major Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received May 30.)

(No. 38.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, May 22, 1879.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that on the 19th instant I sent the following telegram to the Foreign Office:—

"A fortnight has elapsed since the last meeting of the Commission owing to the illness of the Russian Commissioner. His Adjoint appeared at the meeting to-day, and, although he told me that he was to have full powers, he has to refer all points in dispute to his Chief. This will give rise to great delays, entailing expense on Her Majesty's Government.

"The first subject under discussion was that of Karaourgan. The Russian Delegate, in spite of the President's statement at the first meeting (*vide* Protocol), sought to reopen the question of the right of Her Majesty's Government to assist in the determination of the point west of Karaourgan, and as he began to talk of Zivin-Kale my suspicions were aroused. After hearing explanations, I said that although I could not renounce my right to fix the point on the part of Her Majesty's Government, still I was prepared, in order to facilitate matters, to accept a point west of Karaourgan, actually on the frontier already delimitated, as a point of departure for our discussions. This point is on the crest of the hills at a distance of 700 yards. The Russian Adjoint will ask instructions from his Commissioner."

This day (22nd) we have held a long and animated séance, but I regret to inform your Lordship that we have been unable to determine even our point of departure west of Karaourgan, nor do I see any chance of our being able to agree, as, although the Turks are of my way of thinking, we have no power to enforce the opinion of the majority. It is with great regret that I have to inform your Lordship that the Russians have been guilty of a great breach of good faith, which I can scarcely find words to characterize. Their aim and object to-day, as before, has been to seek to re-establish the portion of the frontier beyond Karaourgan, in spite of the circumstance that they had declared it to be erased by the mouth of the President of the Commission at the first séance of the 5th May, of which your Lordship has by this time, no doubt, received the Protocol.

As your Lordship is aware, at the first preliminary séance after my arrival here, I withdrew from the meeting on finding that the Russians and Turks in their delimitation of the frontier had proceeded beyond Karaourgan. After hearing from Mr. Malet that the Russian Ambassador and Carathéodory Pasha had agreed to this erasure of the portion thus irregularly traced, I agreed to accept the frontier traced by the Russians and Turks as far as the parallel of Karaourgan, and to admit the termination of that frontier as the point of departure for our delimitation, but upon the condition that the frontier which had been traced to the south was erased from the map.

Under these conditions I presented myself at the next meeting, and Mr. Malet also informed Prince Labanoff that, provided the part of the frontier south of Karaourgan was erased, I, on my side, was prepared to accept the point on the frontier west of Karaourgan fixed by the Russians and Turks, and not to enforce my right on the part of Her Majesty's Government to reopen the question of fixing the point.

After I had been informed in the séance by the President of the Commission that that part of the frontier to which I had objected had been erased, I entered upon the work of delimitation, implicitly trusting that the Russians would respect their engagement.

But I regret to say that the Russians have been using every artifice to entangle the acceptance of that point with the discussion of another point to the south-west of Karaourgan, and, in fact, to re-establish the frontier to which I had objected, and to the erasure of which they had given their consent, and they endeavoured, and still wish to make, their acceptation of a point to which they had previously agreed conditional, on my acceptance of the frontier already erased with their consent, the erasure of which was a condition upon which I entered the séance.

Moreover, they have endeavoured to show that I renounced my right to determine the point west of Karaourgan, by quoting from a letter addressed by Mr. Malet to Prince Labanoff, in which the former says that the English Commissioner withdraws his demand ("retire son exigence") to revise the fixation of the point west of Karaourgan, whereas I have never renounced any such right. (See *inter alia*, my despatch No. 27, Protocol of second meeting, &c.) This "withdrawal of my demand" to fix the point was based on the acceptance of two conditions by the Russians and Turks: (1) that a certain frontier line traced on a map remained without alteration as far as the parallel of Karaourgan; and (2) that the portion of the frontier line south of that point was erased. If the

Russians, as in fact they have now done, go back from their word, and endeavour to re-establish this line of frontier irregularly traced, I, on my side, am also relieved from my engagement, and am as free as ever to participate on the part of Her Majesty's Government in the fixation of the point west of Karaourgan.

I insisted that the point of departure for our deliberations should be a point west of Karaourgan, *i.e.*, on the parallel of latitude through that village. The point is marked X on the map herewith sent, and is a point on the frontier previously traced by the Russians and Turks. The Russians wished to attach the condition to their acceptance of this point X that I should accept their point Y. (See map.) I refused absolutely to admit of any conditions being attached to my acceptance of the point of departure.

The Treaty of Berlin I argued was perfectly clear, "D'un point à l'ouest près du village de Karaourgan, &c." The point X was due west of Karaourgan, and the difficulty of establishing an exact interpretation of the word "près" was avoided, inasmuch as the Russians and Turks had already traced their frontier through that point. On the other hand, the bearing of the point Y from Karaourgan is west 27° south, which is no longer a point west of Karaourgan, and, therefore, fails to fulfil one of the conditions imposed by the Signatory Powers at the Congress of Berlin.

Your Lordship will perceive that the object of the Russians is to gain a position on the crest of a hill, which in time of war would be absolutely essential to the Turkish defence for the line of their outposts, and that if allowed to include the point Y within the Russian frontier the value of the Zivin position would be gone.

My Lord, the case admits of no compromise. The point Y cannot be admitted for one moment. It cannot be maintained by any possible twisting of the Berlin Treaty. Finding themselves weak on this Treaty interpretation, the Russians took refuge in Protocol No. 17, p. 251, where it is said "that the line of frontier will rejoin the line fixed by the Treaty of San Stefano at Zivin-Kale," hoping by this to be able to throw the frontier to the south. But, if your Lordship will place the transparent tracing of the San Stefano line upon the Russian 20-verst map, you will see that the point where the frontier most nearly approaches Karaourgan is not in the smallest degree south of the parallel of that village, and that, therefore, the San Stefano frontier cannot reach the crest near Zivin, as the Russians seek to show.

Your Lordship will perceive by the yellow line on the cloth tracing what is the direction that the Russians wish the frontier line should take; your Lordship will see how untenable are their arguments in favour of this line. The Treaty says (Article LVIII), "From a point to the west, near the village of Karaourgan, the frontier passes towards Medjingert." Now, Medjingert lies east of Karaourgan, and it therefore appears, in my humble judgment, that the south-west direction insisted on by the Russians is in direct violation of the terms of the Treaty of Berlin.

I trust, my Lord, that I have been sufficiently explicit in pointing out to your Lordship how vital to the defence of the Zivin position is the absolute retention of my point X in its integrity, and how essential it is that there should be no conditions whatever attached to the acceptance of a point of departure for our frontier eastward to Medjingert.

The Russians adduce the economic interests of the inhabitants of Karaourgan, and endeavour to show that any other trace than that they claim would cause a loss of their water-mills to the villagers. I ventured to point out to the Russian Commission that although water-mills were shown on his map in many places, yet there were no indications of one in the position of which he spoke. Even if there be such a mill, as one of the Turkish Commissioners (who supported me throughout) appositely remarked, "Il ne faut pas gâter une frontière naturelle pour le moulin d'un paysan."

The Russian Commissaire-Adjoint and myself agreed to ask instructions from our respective Governments; I, therefore, beg that your Lordship will be pleased to give me instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

No. 40.

Major Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received May* 30.)

(No. 39.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, May* 22, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, copy of the Protocol of the second séance of the Asiatic Boundary Commission.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

Inclosure in No. 40.

Protocole No. 2.—Séance tenue au Seraskierat, Stamboul, le 19 *Mai*, 1879.

Étaient présents :

Pour la Turquie—
Son Excellence Nâdjib Pacha,
Son Excellence Ali Nizami Pacha,
Son Excellence Feyzi Pacha,
M. le Colonel Schahab Bey.

Pour la Russie—
M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Véreguine,
M. A. Emélianoff.

Pour la Grande Bretagne—
M. le Major F. C. H. Clarke,
M. le Capitaine W. Gill.

LA séance est ouverte à 1 heure de l'après-midi.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Véreguine, en qualité de Commissaire Adjoint du Général Stébnitsky, indisposé, présente ses pouvoirs, lesquels, lecture faite, ont été trouvés en bonne et due forme.

Son Excellence Nâdjib Pacha, ayant pris la parole, a proposé de commencer les travaux, et avant tout de fixer le point à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan avec la participation des trois Commissaires.

Son Excellence Ali Nizami Pacha dit qu'il faut, selon lui, commencer par lire le texte du Traité de Berlin.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Véreguine déclare qu'il a à communiquer la réponse au sujet de la majorité dont il a été question dans la dernière séance. Il dit que conformément au désir de son Excellence M. le Président, le Général Stébnitsky a soumis à l'approbation de M. l'Ambassadeur de Russie l'opinion qu'il a eu l'honneur d'exprimer dans la dernière séance sur le mode de décision de la Commission relativement aux changements de moindre importance dans le tracé de la ligne de frontière, ainsi que dans les questions de moindre importance. Son Excellence le Prince Lobanoff a exprimé que d'après l'avis de notre Gouvernement le principe de majorité dans le cas actuel ne saurait être accepté par le Commissaire.

Une conversation s'engage entre les membres de la Commission au sujet de la majorité, et *son Excellence Nâdjib Pacha* déclare qu'en résumé il faut accepter l'unanimité puisque la majorité est rejetée par le Commissaire Russe.

M. le Président propose de commencer par le Traité de Berlin, et donne lecture des termes suivants :—

"D'un point à l'ouest près du village de Kara-Ourgan, la frontière se dirige sur Medjinghert, continue en ligne directe vers le sommet de la Montagne Koussé-Dagh, et longe la ligne du partage des eaux entre les affluents de l'Araxe au nord, et ceux de Moorad-Sou au sud jusqu'à l'ancienne frontière de la Russie."

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Véreguine prend la parole pour présenter à la Commission les observations du Général Stébnitsky relativement à la fixation du point à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan. Il lit ce qui suit de la part de M. le Général Stébnitsky :—

"Le Protocole No. 17 du Congrès de Berlin porte que le Prince de Hohenlohe, Président de la Commission de Délimitation, près du Congrès, a donné lecture de ce qui est ci-après : '. . . . elle (la frontière) suivra cette rivière jusqu'à Bardouz, puis se dirigera vers le sud en laissant Bardouz et Yéni-koui à la Russie, et rejoindra la ligne fixée par le Traité de San Stéfano à Zevin-Kaleh.'

"Le Prince de Bismarck constate que le Congrès sanctionne le résultat des délibérations de la Commission."

"Il s'ensuit donc," continue le Général Stébnitsky, "que le point de la frontière (de la frontière tracée d'après le Traité de San Stéfano) le plus proche de Zevin, c'est-à-dire, à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan dans la même situation, a été aussi maintenu par le Congrès dans la frontière tracée par le Traité de Berlin."

M. le Major Clarke demande si le but de M. le Colonel Véreguine est de questionner le droit du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique de participer à la fixation du point à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Véreguine, en réponse, invoque de nouveau les termes du Protocole No. 17, et ajoute que selon lui le point à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan se trouve déjà établi par le Congrès, et qu'il est, pour ainsi dire, immuable.

M. le Major Clarke prie M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Véreguine de lire jusqu'au bout les opinions de M. le Général Stébnitsky à l'égard du point à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Véreguine relit le Protocole No. 17, et dit que selon lui le point en question se trouve déjà établi par le Congrès, que si l'on devrait recommencer sa fixation on arriverait immanquablement à toucher au tracé qui précède le point, et qui a été fait par la Commission Russo-Turque, ce qui évidemment ne saurait être admis.

Sur la demande de M. le Major Clarke, les membres Ottomans de la Commission lui montrent comme point final de la frontière entre la Mer Noire et Kara-Ourgan, un point sur les hauteurs à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan.*

M. le Major Clarke, tout en maintenant pour son Gouvernement le droit de participer à la fixation du point, dit que, afin d'accélérer le travail de la Commission il accepte le point tel qu'il lui a été montré.

Son Excellence Ali Nizami Pacha croit que comme le Traité porte "sur un point près du village de Kara-Ourgan," naturellement la frontière doit passer près de ce village.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Véreguine présente la carte déjà signée par les Commissaires Russes et Ottomans pour démontrer que le point indiqué par lui est le point choisi par la Commission précédente;† il croit que c'est par ce point déjà établi que les travaux des Commissaires doivent commencer.

Son Excellence Ali Nizami Pacha dit que le point dont parle M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Véreguine n'est pas ce que les Commissaires Russes et Ottomans ont déjà choisi, et il croit que c'est par ce point déjà choisi près de Kara-Ourgan que doivent commencer les travaux des Commissaires.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Véreguine dit que le point qu'il indique se trouve près de Kara-Ourgan, que ce point se trouve sur une crête bien élevée, et que si on l'approchait davantage de Kara-Ourgan, on ferait passer dans le territoire Turc les moulins situés sur la rivière, qui constituent les propriétés des habitants de ce village. Or, il est entendu que les propriétés doivent être conservées aux habitants.

Son Excellence Nizami Pacha dit que le point près de Kara-Ourgan est aussi élevé, et, par conséquent, il peut être fixé.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Véreguine maintient son point.

M. le Major Clarke désire suivre la frontière naturelle, et ne pas quitter la crête; il indique sur la carte le point par où les travaux doivent commencer.‡

M. le Colonel Schéhab Bey se déclare pour le point près de Kara-Ourgan, et ajoute qu'autrement on serait obligé de couper la vallée et la rivière.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Véreguine répond que pour passer d'une crête sur une autre, naturellement on doit couper la vallée.

Son Excellence Nédjib Pacha demande à M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Véreguine son opinion sur le point.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Véreguine maintient que le point indiqué est le plus élevé et plus propre à servir de frontière; en outre, ce point sauvegarde les intérêts économiques des habitants de Kara-Ourgan.

M. le Major Clarke déclare qu'il ne peut pas admettre aucun tracé de la frontière

* Ce point se trouve à une distance à peu près de 600 sagènes du village.

† Dans cette carte la frontière suit la crête à l'ouest de Yéni-Keuy et Abilkart, mais plus loin (sur une autre section de la carte qui n'est pas signée), elle quitte la crête par une ligne courbe, traverse la vallée et gagne une autre crête au sud-ouest de Kara-Ourgan.

‡ Ce point se trouve à l'intersection de la ligne qui suit la crête à l'ouest de Yéni-Keuy et Abilkart avec le parallèle de Kara-Ourgan; le point est indiqué sur la carte soumise au Gouvernement Ottoman par ses Commissaires et dont une copie lui a été fournie.

arrêtée par la Commission Russe et Turque au sud de Kara-Ourgan. Le point de départ pour les discussions doit être un point à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Véreguine insiste sur les intérêts économiques des habitants.

Son Excellence Nédjib Pacha dit que la question des intérêts économiques ne peut pas être un empêchement pour établir une frontière administrative. Il est admis partout que les propriétaires ne sont pas privés de leurs biens lorsque ceux-ci passent dans le territoire d'une autre Puissance; il s'ensuit que les habitants de Kara-Ourgan conserveraient toujours leurs droits de propriété, quand même les moulins passeraient dans le territoire Turc.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Véreguine maintient l'importance des intérêts économiques, et ajoute, en même temps, que le point indiqué par lui satisfait aussi aux intérêts administratifs, vu que ce point est une crête presque quatre fois plus élevée que le point près de Kara-Ourgan.

Son Excellence Ali Nizami Pacha pense qu'on ne peut pas gâter une frontière naturelle pour les moulins d'un paysan.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Véreguine exprime que dans toutes les autres Commissions on a tenu compte des propriétés.

M. le Major Clarke dit qu'il a participé à la délimitation de la Bulgare, et que partout on donnait la préférence aux accidents du terrain, et qu'on n'a pas tenu compte en général des intérêts économiques.

Son Excellence Ali Nizami Pacha fait rappeler qu'ils ont réservé dans le Protocole précédent aux Délégués un paragraphe pour sauvegarder les intérêts locaux, et puis, il ajoute, qu'il ne peut pas choisir un autre point que celui qu'il a montré.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Véreguine dit que, sans le consentement de M. le Général Stébnitsky, il ne peut pas accepter le point proposé par les Commissaires Anglais et Ottomans. Il référera la question à M. le Général Stébnitsky.

La séance est levée à 3 heures 15 minutes.

No. 41.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Colonel Clarke.

(No. 39.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, June 5, 1879.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 38 of the 22nd ultimo, in which you explain the objections which have been raised by your Russian colleagues to the determination of the point west of Karaourgan from which you shall officially take part in tracing the frontier as British member of the Boundary Commission, and also their endeavours to revert to that portion of the frontier beyond Karaourgan already traced by the Russian and Turkish Commissioners, the erasure of which you had obtained from them since your arrival in Constantinople.

The instructions already sent to you in my despatches Nos. 34 and 36 of the 24th and 28th ultimo, the substance of which has been communicated to you by telegraph, will have placed you in possession of the views of Her Majesty's Government upon the points in dispute, and it only remains for me at present to convey to you my entire approval of your proceedings as reported in your despatch No. 38.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 42.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received June 6.*)

(No. 45.)

Constantinople, May 29, 1879.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, a copy of Protocol No. 3 of the séance held on the 22nd instant.

In explanation of the circumstances that the Protocols are not as yet signed, I beg to state that General Stébnitsky, the Russian Commissioner, has been too ill to attend since the first séance. The Protocol of the second séance was partly read at the third séance, but the reading of the remainder was deferred in consequence of a discrepancy between the English and Russian copies. With regard to Protocol No. 3, the sitting closed with my withdrawal; and we have had no meeting since. Protocol No. 3, herewith sent, has, however, been drawn up by the English and Russian Secretaries, and, with the exception of the *rédaction* of Ali Nizami Pasha's remark on page with reference to the San Stefano map, the two copies of the respective Secretaries correspond.

I regret to say that the Russian Secretary is very tricky, and on more than one occasion has by the alteration of words or phrases, endeavoured to alter the sense of what the different speakers sought to convey. Captain Gill, however, keeps his Protocol with great correctness, and pending the receipt of the signed copies, I beg that your Lordship will not admit as correct any other copies of the Protocols than those I have had the honour to forward.

It is with the greatest pain that I have to take these precautions, which, to honest straightforward men, appear superfluous; but I regret to say that my short acquaintance with the Russian representatives on the Boundary Commission shows that these precautions are absolutely necessary.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

Inclosure in No. 42.

Protocole No. 3.—Séance tenue au Serashierat, Stamboul, le 22 Mai, 1879.

Étaient présents :

Pour la Turquie—
Son Excellence Nédjib Pacha,
Son Excellence Ali Nizami Pacha,
Son Excellence Féyzi Pacha,
M. le Colonel Chéhab Bey.

Pour la Russie—
M. le Lieutenant-Colonel de Wereguine,
M. A. Emélianoff.

Pour l'Angleterre—
M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke,
M. le Capitaine Gill.

LA séance est ouverte à 1 heure de l'après-midi.

Selon le désir de M. le Président, *M. le Lieutenant-Colonel de Wereguine* dit que son Excellence le Général Stébnitsky l'a chargé de faire part à la Commission relativement à la position du point de frontière à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan de la déclaration suivante :—

"Le point en question a été établi par le Traité de San Stéfano, et, par conséquent, est indiqué sur la carte jointe à ce Traité. Or, il paraît de cette carte que ce point se trouve à quelques kilomètres du village de Kara-Ourgan. Dans le Protocole No. 17 du Congrès de Berlin, le même point de frontière est désigné comme point se trouvant près de Zevin-Kaleh. Comme il paraît des levées faites sur l'échelle d'une verste dans une pouce, il y a quatre crêtes entre le village de Zevin et celui de Kara-Ourgan. La position que les Délégués Russes proposent pour être le point de frontière, se trouve sur la troisième crête de Zevin, et sur la seconde de Kara-Ourgan, à 2 kilom. de ce dernier, et 3½ kilom. de Zevin.

"Une telle position de point qui doit se trouver à proximité de Zevin et de Kara-Ourgan est, selon l'opinion du Délégué Russe, une proposition bien modérée, et la restreindre encore serait agir en contradiction avec la position du point frontière désignée sur la carte de San Stéfano, et mentionnée dans le Protocole No. 17 du Congrès de Berlin.

"En outre, le point indiqué par le Délégué Russe est une hauteur saillante, et peut, par conséquent, être un point convenable de frontière.

"Je me crois en devoir d'y ajouter que le principal motif qui m'a guidé dans le choix du point frontière à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan, était la base déjà admise par la Commission, que la frontière, pour les facilités administratives des deux pays limitrophes, doit suivre les hauteurs les plus saillantes, et non les petites crêtes et les petites collines, en conservant le plus possible aux habitants les propriétés et les terrains dont ils jouissent actuellement.

"Pour faire ressortir que le point en question à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan n'a d'autre portée que celle dont j'ai parlé plus haut, on n'a qu'à consulter la carte: en plus on peut s'en convaincre sur les lieux, comme j'ai eu l'occasion d'y parvenir personnellement.

"Mais en admettant le point de frontière sur la colline la plus proche de Kara-Ourgan, il en résulterait que ce point se trouverait sur la même plaine ondulée, sur laquelle est situé le village même. Donc trop près de Kara-Ourgan, et relativement trop loin de Zevin, ce qui serait en opposition avec les arguments basés sur les documents invoqués plus haut."

Pendant la lecture M. de Lieutenant-Colonel Wereguine donne ses explications sur les cartes, et ajoute que, d'après le texte du Protocole No. 17 du Congrès de Berlin, le point indiqué auprès de Zevin-Kaleh de la frontière de San Stéfano se trouve justement être le point à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan mentionné dans le Traité de Berlin.

Ce point, comme il a déjà eu l'honneur de l'exposer dans la séance précédente, forme le pointe de la coudée de la ligne de frontière de San Stéfano, mentionnée dans le Protocole No. 17, que l'on trouve sur le transparent.

Entre ce point et Kara-Ourgan se trouve une vallée nettement indiquée sur la carte Russe de 20 verstes, et qui ne peut être que la vallée à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan, indiquée sur les plans topographiques présentés à la Commission. Ce point, conformé-

ment au transparent, étant sur la rive droite de la vallée, ne saurait logiquement être transportée sur la rive opposée.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke a l'honneur de faire observer que dans le Traité de Berlin il n'y a aucune mention ni du Traité de San Stéfano ni de la frontière à Zevin, et que, par conséquent, il trouve les observations de M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Wereguine à ce sujet absolument hors de propos.

Quant à la carte jointe à ce Traité, dont M. le Lieutenant-Colonel de Wereguine a présenté un transparent signé, M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke fait observer qu'elle est dressée sur une petite échelle, et que la ligne-frontière y est indiquée par une bande très-large.

Après avoir mis le transparent en question sur la carte originale de laquelle il a été copié, on s'est aperçu d'abord que le transparent n'est pas conforme.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke fit ensuite observer que le point défini par M. le Lieutenant-Colonel de Wereguine n'est pas (même sur son transparent) au sud de la parallèle de Kara-Ourgan, et il ne comprend pas comment M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Wereguine veut-il maintenant proposer un point au sud de la dite parallèle.

Son Excellence Ali Nizami Pacha ajoute que l'échelle de la dite carte n'est pas assez grande pour faire ressortir distinctement les distances.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel de Wereguine, en réponse aux observations de M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke, fait remarquer que le Traité n'est autre chose que le résumé des arrangements renfermés dans les Protocoles, par conséquent, en étudiant le Traité il est de toute nécessité de s'en référer aux détails qui sont insérés dans ces Protocoles.

Il en résulte donc qu'il n'est jamais hors de propos de s'en référer aux Protocoles lorsque les circonstances l'exigent, et le droit du Délégué Russe, ainsi que celui de tout Délégué, de faire appel à les documents d'une portée internationale, ne saurait aucunement être limité.

Quant aux observations du Délégué Britannique par rapport à l'inexactitude du transparent, il les considère comme une appréciation personnelle, et sans aucune base.

Pour ce qui concerne les remarques de M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke sur la position du point à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan, il n'a qu'à réitérer les opinions déjà émises dans la pièce qu'il a eu l'honneur de produire à l'ouverture de la séance.

Pour ce que M. le Lieutenant-de Wereguine a dit au sujet du Protocole No. 17 du Traité de Berlin, *M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke* se trouve d'accord avec les Commissaires Ottomans qui ont manifesté que c'est leur devoir de se baser sur le Traité de Berlin.

Son Excellence Ali Nizami Pacha admet que sans doute lorsqu'il y a de l'obscurité dans les termes du Traité, alors on doit se référer aux Protocoles; mais dans le cas actuel le Traité est parfaitement clair et ne laisse aucun doute au sujet du point de départ des travaux de la Commission.

Il se base plutôt sur le Traité même et non pas sur les Protocoles, qui ne sont que d'ailleurs l'expression des opinions des membres du Congrès; il ajoute que si l'on donne la préférence aux Protocoles on dériverait beaucoup des termes du Traité. En outre, il ne peut pas se faire une idée comment on peut contester le droit du Commissaire Britannique de participer à la délimitation depuis un point à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel de Wereguine croit de son devoir de réitérer que les Protocoles renferment l'exposé des arrangements pris par les signataires du Traité de Berlin, ainsi que les indications sur le tracé de la frontière Russo-Turque sont, selon lui, les commentaires inhérents au Traité. L'extrait du Protocole No. 17 qu'il a eu l'honneur de citer en est un exemple évident.

En réponse aux observations de M. le Lieutenant-Colonel de Wereguine relativement à la position du point au sud-ouest de Kara-Ourgan, *M. le Lieutenant Colonel Clarke* est loin de disputer que M. le Délégué Russe l'a bien expliquée; il désire seulement ajouter que ce point se trouve à l'ouest 27° sud de Kara-Ourgan.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel de Wereguine dit qu'il a été guidé dans le choix du point saillant qu'il indiquait, par les considérations que ce point satisferait le mieux aux conditions essentielles d'une bonne frontière; mais quand surgit la question qu'il fallait comprendre l'expression à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan dans un sens tout-à-fait précis, M. le Commissaire Russe indiqua un autre point saillant précisément à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke croit que le point en question est plutôt ouest 27° sud.

Quant à la modération dont a parlé M. le Lieutenant-Colonel de Wereguine, il ne la voit pas puisque—

1. M. le Commissaire Russe désire violer le Traité de Berlin en se basant sur celui de San Stéfano et sur le transparent inexact qui l'a accompagné, et en donnant à la frontière une direction de sud-ouest au lieu de celle sur Medjingherd.*

2. M. le Lieutenant-Colonel de Wereguine veut rejeter le point déjà convenu entre les Commissaires Russes et Ottomans et en choisir un autre qui ne figure pas sur la frontière déjà arrêtée par les Commissaires Russes et Ottomans, mais qui se trouve sur la frontière déjà rayée.

Au contraire, malgré le droit de son Gouvernement de participer à la fixation du point en question, M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke est bien disposé à accepter comme point final celui arrêté par la Commission Russe et Turque.

3. M. le Lieutenant-Colonel de Wereguine désire encore une fois imposer un tracé dont la rayure de la carte a été la condition essentielle de la présence du Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke aux séances.

M. le Délégué Russe voit avec peine que M. le Délégué Britannique confond constamment le Protocole No. 17 du Congrès de Berlin avec le Traité de San Stéfano, dont il n'a été question dans la séance. C'est le Protocole No. 17 qui a été lu à la séance et non le texte du Traité de San Stéfano.

Ce qui concerne l'expression dont s'est servi M. le Délégué Britannique en imputant au Délégué Russe le désir de violer le Traité de Berlin en se basant sur celui de San Stéfano, il la trouve parfaitement arbitraire et absolument hors de propos, ainsi que la remarque faite sur l'inexactitude du transparent qui est un document en règle et qui ne saurait être contesté.

Dans la première séance, continue M. le Commissaire Russe, à laquelle il a eu l'honneur d'assister, M. le Président avait proposé à l'ouverture de la séance, premièrement et avant tout, de choisir un point à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan avec la coopération des trois délégués.

Par conséquent il a cru de son devoir, indépendamment du droit formel de chacun des Délégués, dans le choix de ce point, d'exposer tous les arguments, basés sur des documents relatifs à sa position et à celle de la partie de la frontière adhérente.

En outre, M. le Délégué Russe exprime que c'est son droit d'émettre librement ses opinions aussi bien sur le point de départ que sur le tracé ultérieur de la frontière; il pense que le même droit sans doute appartient également aux autres Délégués, et il ne reconnaît pas la possibilité d'imposer ses opinions aux autres Délégués.

Pour ce que M. le Lieutenant-Colonel de Wereguine a avancé à propos d'une vallée entre la frontière de San Stéfano et Kara-Ourgan, c'est à regret que *M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke* observe que M. le Commissaire Russe revient toujours au Traité de San Stéfano et au Protocole No. 17, en laissant de côté le Traité de Berlin, qui est d'ailleurs parfaitement clair, et ne demande aucune explication à ce sujet.

M. le Commissaire Russe est obligé de faire observer que pendant la séance il n'a allégué que le Protocole No. 17 du Congrès de Berlin, que M. le Délégué Britannique se plaît constamment à confondre avec le Traité de San Stéfano.

M. le Commissaire Britannique ne peut pas s'abstenir de faire observer que le point déjà choisi par les Commissaires Russes et Ottomans (mais que maintenant le Commissaire Russe désire rejeter) accomplit toutes les conditions exigées par le Traité de Berlin.

De plus, ce point se trouve sur le partage de deux cours d'eau, et sur les hauteurs qui se dirigent vers la sud, et selon la carte Russe sur un point assez saillant. La frontière qui passe ainsi est la continuation naturelle de la frontière déjà tracée sur le partage des susdits cours d'eau, tandis que celle indiquée par M. le Lieutenant-Colonel de Wereguine descend sans aucune raison évidente des hauteurs et traverse une vallée dans une direction approximativement sud-ouest pour gagner une autre hauteur.

M. le Commissaire Russe fait observer que la direction de la partie de la frontière qu'il indique est basée sur la nécessité de respecter les intérêts économiques du village de Kara-Ourgan, lesquels, selon lui, ne sauraient être satisfaits qu'à la condition de cette seule direction de la frontière, et engage les Délégués de s'en convaincre sur les lieux.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke avance qu'en faisant une comparaison entre les deux copies signées de la carte† on s'aperçoit que celle entre les mains du Commissaire Russe n'est pas d'accord avec celle des Commissaires Ottomans.

* "D'un point à l'ouest près du . . . ." (Voir Traité de Berlin, Article LVIII.)

† C'est-à-dire de la carte de la frontière jusqu'au 40° 15' de latitude (Kara-Ourgan est à peu près en latitude 40° 14' 50").

Leurs Excellences Nédjib et Ali Nizami Pachas affirment que dans le tracé de cette partie de la frontière,* ils n'ont jamais quitté la crête, et qu'ils pensent que leur copie est la plus exacte.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel de Wereguine dit que les deux cartes sont également signées par MM. les Commissaires Russes et Ottomans, et par conséquent d'une valeur documentale identique.

Son Excellence Nédjib Pacha fait rappeler que dans les Protocoles précédents les Commissaires ont déjà tenu compte des intérêts économiques; il ajoute en outre que selon le "droit des gens," tout le monde est libre d'aller dans un pays étranger même pour visiter ses propres moulins; que lorsqu'un pays passe à la possession d'une autre Puissance, les villageois ne sont pas dépourvus de leurs propriétés.

Son Excellence Ali Nizami Pacha fait remarquer qu'on ne doit pas gâter une frontière naturelle pour le moulin d'un paysan.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke est loin de contester l'affirmation de son Excellence le Général Stébnitsky que le point qu'il désire choisir sera convenable sous un point de vue économique, et il n'aurait jamais songé à chercher des preuves sur la carte pour démontrer le contraire; mais puisque le Commissaire Russe fait appel à la carte, le Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke ne peut pas s'empêcher de démontrer que les moulins sont indiqués partout ailleurs sur la carte, tandis qu'il n'y a aucun signe de moulin dans l'endroit mentionné par son Excellence le Général Stébnitsky.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel de Wereguine affirme que selon les informations recueillies par M. le Général Stébnitsky ces terrains sont des propriétés des habitants de Kara-Ourgan, et la preuve en est qu'ils sont à proximité de ce même village.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke dit que quant à la plaine ondulée, dont a parlé M. le Commissaire Russe, il démontre que d'après la carte Russe, il y a entre les deux cours d'eau une hauteur assez saillante.

Quant à Zevin et aux arguments basés sur les documents invoqués par M. le Commissaire Russe, *M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke* se trouve parfaitement d'accord avec les Délégués Ottomans, en réitérant qu'il n'a pas le droit de mépriser le Traité de Berlin pour se réfugier dans celui de San Stéfano, et dans les Protocoles du Congrès de Berlin.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel de Wereguine ne peut pas s'empêcher d'exprimer son étonnement de voir encore une fois confondre le Traité de San Stéfano avec les Protocoles du Congrès de Berlin—deux choses trop distinctes pour être confondues.

Ensuite le Commissaire Russe répète les opinions de son Excellence le Général Stébnitsky, et mû par un esprit de conciliation, propose d'admettre le point indiqué par les Commissaires à condition que les intérêts économiques du village de Kara-Ourgan soient sauvegardés en leur conservant les propriétés qui sont sur la rivière.

M. le Président fait observer qu'une nouvelle Commission ayant été nommée, pour être en règle, il a fallu commencer par la fixation d'un point de départ sans y attacher aucune condition.

Son Excellence Ali Nizami Pacha et M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke affirment qu'en fixant le point de départ ils ne peuvent pas accepter les conditions que M. le Lieutenant-Colonel de Wereguine veut imposer, et ils répètent que selon le Traité de Berlin ce point doit être à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan; qu'ils ne trouvent pas qu'ils ont le droit de s'écarter du Traité, comme désire le faire le Commissaire Russe en choisissant un point au sud-ouest.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel de Wereguine, voyant que l'on n'arrivait à aucune conclusion propre, dans l'intérêt de faire avancer les travaux, propose de remettre le choix du point sur les lieux et de continuer présentement à étudier le tracé ultérieur de la frontière.

Son Excellence Nédjib Pacha dit qu'il ne comprend pas comment on peut espérer à tomber d'accord sur les lieux si on ne peut pas le faire à présent.

Son Excellence Ali Nizami Pacha démontre que selon le Traité de Berlin le Commissaire Britannique a le droit de participer dans la délimitation depuis un point à l'ouest près de Kara-Ourgan; si, au contraire, le point de M. le Lieutenant-Colonel de Wereguine est accepté, comme point de départ, alors la frontière sera tracée au delà du point à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan, sans la participation de M. le Commissaire Britannique.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke regrette que M. le Commissaire Russe veut maintenant rejeter un point auquel il avait préalablement consenti; ou bien il tâche à faire prévaloir une frontière déjà rayée de la carte par son consentement.

M. le Commissaire Russe croit qu'en émettant ses opinions dans la Commission

* C'est-à-dire la portion qui se trouve entre 40° 15' de latitude et 40° 10'.

actuelle sur la direction de la frontière, il ne les a jamais rattachées à un tracé, qui, d'après la déclaration du Délégué Britannique lui-même, n'existe pas.

Il suppose en outre que la Commission étant un champ de libres discussions, chacun des Délégués, selon les documents, peut librement et indépendamment projetor un tracé. Ainsi, en cas de non-unanimité, chacun des Délégués pourrait indiquer son projet de tracé sur la carte et ces projets seraient alors soumis à l'appréciation des autorités compétentes.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke donne ensuite lecture de la pièce suivante :—

"M. le Président,

"Excellence,

"Il sera à la connaissance des membres de la Commission qu'à la première séance préliminaire du 21 Avril, je me trouvai dans la nécessité de me séparer de mes collègues jusqu'à ce que la frontière tracée au delà de Kara-Ourgan, sans ma participation, eut été rayée. A la première séance formelle du 5 Mai, ayant reçu l'autorisation de mon Ambassadeur, après qu'une communication lui avait été faite par M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté le Sultan, et par M. le Prince Labanoff, je m'y suis rendu.

"Après l'ouverture de la séance, votre Excellence, parlant au nom des membres de la Commission comme leur Président, m'assura que la frontière au delà de Kara-Ourgan avait été rayée de la carte, et que le point à l'ouest du dit village restait a être fixé par les trois Commissaires—Russe, Turc, et Britannique.

"Trouvant les assurances de votre Excellence satisfaisantes, je pris part à cette séance. Mais, en dépit des assurances, à la seconde séance du 10 Mai, le Général Stébnitsky, étant absent, par la bouche de son adjoint, tâchait de soulever encore une fois la question du droit du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique de participer à la fixation du point à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan.

"Afin d'accélérer le travail de la Commission qui, jusqu'à présent, a été très en rétard d'une cause ou de l'autre, et animé d'un esprit conciliateur, je tâchais de me mettre d'accord dès le premier moment avec mes collègues et je m'étais disposé (sans toutefois renoncer au droit du Gouvernement Britannique de participer à la fixation du point à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan) d'accepter un point à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan qui se trouve sur la frontière marquée sur une carte (copie de celle présentée à la Sublime Porte) placée à ma disposition par la Commission.

"Malgré cette disposition de ma part, d'après les paroles du Commissaire-Adjoint Russe, il n'acceptait pas sans condition le point que j'ai indiqué, mais désirait mêler avec ce point un autre au sud-ouest de Kara-Ourgan; un point, en effet, sur la frontière qui a été déjà rayée de la carte, selon la déclaration de son Excellence le Président de la Commission."

Ensuite, M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke passe à M. le Président l'une des questions par écrit.

Son Excellence Nédjib Pacha lit ce qui suit: "Si M. le Commissaire Russe questionne le droit du Gouvernement Britannique de participer à la fixation du point à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan?"

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel de Wereguine répond qu'il ne saurait contester le droit du Gouvernement Britannique de participer à la fixation du point à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan, attendu qu'il ne connait pas les instructions dont M. le Commissaire Britannique est muni. Mais ce qu'il saurait dire c'est que d'après la lettre de son Excellence Mr. Malet, ci-devant Ministre Plénipotentiaire de Sa Majesté Britannique près de Sa Majesté le Sultan, adressée à son Excellence M. l'Ambassadeur de Russie, le Prince Labanoff, M. le Commissaire Britannique a retiré son exigence de participer à la fixation du point en question. Ensuite, M. le Commissaire Russe passe l'original à son Excellence Nédjib Pacha.

M. le Président lit la lettre conçue en ces termes:—

"Reçu le $\frac{1}{13}$ Avril, 1879, Mardi.

"Cher Prince,

"Major Clarke retire son exigence à participer à la fixation du point près de Kara-Ourgan. Il se présentera à la Commission aussitôt que j'aurai reçu avis que le tracé au delà de ce point a été rayé.

"Votre très-dévoué,

(Signé) E. B. MALET."

"A son Excellence le Prince Labanoff, &c."

M. le Lieutenant Colonel Clarke maintient son droit de participer à la fixation du

point à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan et présente à M. le Président la seconde question par écrit.

Son Excellence Nédjib Pacha lit: "Si M. le Commissaire Russe répudie que le point indiqué par moi à la dernière séance, et affirmé par les Délégués Ottomans d'être un point sur la frontière tracée par la Commission Russo-Turque, est un point sur la dite frontière?"

M. le Délégué de Russie croit que le point indiqué par M. le Commissaire Britannique n'est pas le point qui avait été l'objet des délibérations de la Commission Russo-Turque. Finalement, il propose de nouveau, pour ne pas arrêter les travaux ultérieures du tracé à projeter, de réserver la question du point aux Délégués de délimitation pour être tranchée sur les lieux.

Son Excellence Nédjib Pacha dit qu'il serait désirable de fixer le point maintenant, et ensuite demande à M. le Lieutenant-Colonel de Wereguine s'il accepte le point dont a parlé M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke comme étant un point sur la frontière déjà tracée par la Commission Russo-Turque.

M. le Lieutenant Colonel de Wereguine répond qu'il n'est pas tenu à accepter le point proposé par M. le Délégué Britannique, d'autant plus que conformément à la lettre qu'il a eu l'honneur de produire à la Commission, il s'ensuit que M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke a retiré son exigence à participer à la fixation du point à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan.

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke dit que c'est avec le plus profond regret que, pour les mêmes raisons que d'autrefois, il est de son devoir de se séparer encore une fois de ses collègues.

La séance est levée à 4 heures 30 minutes.

No. 43.

Mr. Plunkett to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received June 9.)

(No. 218.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, May 28, 1879.*

I CALLED this afternoon on Baron Jomini, to speak about the difficulties which, as I gather from your Lordship's telegrams Nos. 101 and 102 of the 24th and 27th instant respectively, have arisen respecting the point near Karaourgan from which the British Commission is to take part in the delimitation of the Asiatic frontier of Turkey.

I found his Excellency little inclined to discuss this matter, the details of which he professed to know nothing about. He had already had occasion to call the attention of the British Government to the continued difficulties which he said were being raised by Major Clarke, and which were delaying the completion of a work which the Russian Government were just as anxious to expedite as the British Government could be.

I stated that my information did not lead me to believe that it was the British Commissioner who was to blame; I pointed out to the Baron that he might, without prejudging the case, move M. de Giers to invite the Russian Commissioner to show the same conciliatory spirit which Her Majesty's Government had inculcated on theirs. I therefore begged that he would oblige me by telegraphing in this sense to Livadia.

His Excellency refused to telegraph, but promised to write to Livadia by the next post.

As His Majesty the Emperor and M. de Giers leave Livadia on the 6th, *en route* for Berlin, and will not return to Tsarskoe-Zeloe till the 19th, Baron Jomini's writing will, I fear, not be of much practical utility.

I could not, however, obtain more; and, as I had received no instructions from your Lordship to urge Major Clarke's views, it seemed to me better to drop the matter for the present.

Baron Jomini, in the course of his remarks, volunteered the statement that there could be no question of Russia agreeing to abide by a decision of the majority in the Asiatic Boundary Commission, as she had done in the Delimitation Commissions in Europe. The Turkish and British Commissioners would always be certain to combine against the Russian.

The sad tone in which the Baron made this remark would seem to show little faith in the close friendship with Turkey which the Russian Government are believed to be trying for.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. R. PLUNKETT.

No. 44.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received June 13.)

(No. 47.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, May 13, 1879.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 32, transmitting copy of Lord Dufferin's No. 143, with its inclosed note from Baron Jomini, in which note the latter refers to my proceedings with regard to the point west of Karaourgan.

Before proceeding to offer to your Lordship a few remarks on Baron Jomini's letter, I would premise that Baron Jomini speaks of the point claimed by the Russian Commissioner as a point west of Karaourgan, whereas it is really a point west 27° south of that village.

The whole question between the Russian Commissioner and myself, in fact, has been his persistent myopia in being unable to differentiate between "west" and "west 27° south."

The two main assertions in Baron Jomini's letter are (1) that the point west of Karaourgan was determined by common consent between the Russian and Turkish Commissioners; and (2) that the Representative of Her Majesty's Government has no right to determine that point.

With regard to the first of these assertions, it will be sufficient to bring to your Lordship's notice how the statement of Baron Jomini that "le point à l'ouest de Karaourgan déjà fixé d'un commun accord par notre Délégué et celui de la Porte," is at variance with the announcement of Nedjib Pasha, President of the Commission, as recorded in the First Protocol: "Quant au point à l'ouest de Karaourgan il n'était pas déterminé non plus, mais afin de donner une direction quelconque vers laquelle devait se diriger la ligne-frontière, le point en question a été choisi mais pas d'une manière définitive, et que par conséquent il reste un point à fixer." This was furthermore followed by the statement of Ali Nizami Pasha: "Que non-seulement on n'a pas fixé le point, mais que même on n'a pas pu le faire."

After these expressions had fallen from the mouths of the two Pashas, I looked pointedly at General Stebnitzky with a view to eliciting his approval or otherwise, and although this gave him the opportunity of disclaiming his adherence to the views just propounded by the Turkish Commissioners, he contented himself with remarking that he supposed we could now commence the labours of the Commission.

With regard to the second assertion in Baron Jomini's letter, that the Representative of Her Majesty's Government has no right to determine the point in question, no remark on my part is necessary, as your Lordship is the judge in that matter. Suffice it to say that, on finding that the Russo-Turkish Commission had exceeded their powers, in my humble judgment, in laying down a frontier whose terminal point on the river below Karaourgan had a bearing of west 60° south of that village, I deemed it my duty, in anticipation of your Lordship's instructions, to take up the strong ground of a right, if necessary, to reopen the discussion of the frontier thus irregularly traced. To have done otherwise, I respectfully submit, would have been to have acquiesced in a violation of the Treaty of Berlin, which expressly stipulates that from a point west of, and near to, Karaourgan (evidently a point on the parallel of that village), the frontier is to be directed on Medjingert, that is to say, nearly due east according to Kiepert's last map (1877), and not south-west, according to the views of the Russian Commissioner.

But, as your Lordship is aware, I agreed subsequently (after some negotiations between Mr. Malet, Prince Labanoff, and Caratheodory Pasha), to accept a point due west of Karaourgan, on the line of frontier traced by the Russo-Turkish Commission as the point of departure for the new delimitation, on condition that the remainder of the trace to the south should be erased.

Nothing could, I submit, evince so strongly a spirit of conciliation as this action on my part in waiving the right, under certain conditions, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, to reopen the discussion of the point chosen by the Russian and Turkish Commissioners without my concurrence, or rather (according to the Turks) alleged by the Russians to have been chosen. How that spirit of conciliation has been met by the Russian Commissioner, and what advantage he attempted to take of it, have been already detailed to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

No. 45.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received June 19.)

(No. 48. Secret.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, June 12, 1879.*

IT will be within your Lordship's recollection that, in endeavouring to carry out the instructions conveyed in your No. 13 of the 28th March (my general instructions), with reference to that portion of the frontier between the Black Sea and Karaourgan, I conceived it to be my duty, in accordance with a request from his Excellency Carathéodory Pasha, to forward a Memorandum embodying certain remarks which occurred to me with regard to the project of frontier submitted to the Turkish and Russian Governments by their respective Commissioners. A copy of that Memorandum was forwarded to your Lordship in my No. 23 of the 22nd April.

In consequence of the reluctance of the Ottoman Commissioners to consider their project of frontier, and on finding that Carathéodory Pasha was rather inclined to support his officers, I sought another interview with his Excellency, at which I pointed out the extreme importance which Her Majesty's Government attached to this part of the frontier and, as reported in my No. 35 of the 19th May to your Lordship, prepared and forwarded, through his Excellency Her Majesty's Ambassador, a second Memorandum, in which I supported the remarks contained in my first Memorandum by more detailed arguments.

His Excellency Her Majesty's Ambassador, when forwarding that Memorandum to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, was at the same time pleased to give the weight of his recommendation to it.

I learn to-day from my Turkish colleague, Shehat Bey (who has been most loyal throughout in warning me of any change in the situation), that yesterday a meeting was held at the Seraskierate (Prince Labanoff, Carathéodory Pasha, and the Russian and Turkish Commissioners being present), at which it was decided that on Saturday next, the 14th instant, a meeting should be held at which the frontier between the Black Sea and Karaourgan should be reconsidered.

My Turkish colleague informs me that he feels that all the new Turkish Generals (Ghazi Osman Pasha, Samih Pasha, Edhem Pasha, Akif Pasha), whose duty it has been to consider my Memoranda with reference to the project of frontier, that all of them are convinced of the justice of my representations as to the unnecessary loss of territory which Turkey would sustain were the projected frontier ratified by the Turkish Government. Whether or not the Russians will agree to disgorge the plunder which they have secured under that project, remains to be seen, but I confess to your Lordship that, although I am not without hope that something may yet be retrieved, I am not very sanguine of the result of Saturday's meeting.

Although I believe that no one except Carathéodory Pasha knows who wrote the two Memoranda, as I purposely never signed them, I have been unable to conceal the circumstance from my Turkish colleague, as, in fact, it would have been impossible to do so, as he knows my opinions too well. I trust, however, that the authorship of the Memoranda will not be allowed to transpire, as the knowledge of the fact by the Russians might disturb the friendly relations which I hope will subsist between my new Russian colleague (General Zelensy) and myself, directly the Karaourgan incident is settled.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

No. 46.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received June 24.)

(No. 50. Secret.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, June 15, 1879.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that at a meeting of the Turco-Russian Boundary Commission yesterday afternoon the project of frontier between the Black Sea and Karaourgan, which the Turkish Government had rejected on account of its not being in conformity with the Treaty of Berlin, was reconsidered.

At this meeting were present, in addition to the Russian General Stebnitzky and

the Turkish Commissioners, the following Turkish Generals of Brigade: Edhem Pasha,* Akhif Pasha,† and Osman Pasha.‡

As your Lordship will readily understand, I was not present at the meeting, although, of course, I am in constant communication with my Turkish colleague.

The first subject under discussion was that part of Article LVIII which declares that from "un point au nord-ouest de Khorda et au sud d'Artwin (la frontière) se prolonge en ligne droite jusqu'à la Rivière Tchoroukh, traverse cette rivière, et passe à l'est d'Aschmuichen. . . ."

The Turkish Commissioners, including Ali Nizami, whom your Lordship will remember as having been the Pasha really responsible for following the Russian lead in drawing up the original project, commenced by submitting that the project, in the view of the Turkish Government, was not drawn up in conformity with the Treaty of Berlin. They alleged that, in the demarcation from the point north-west of Khorda and south of Artwin, the frontier-line, instead of striking the Tchoroukh obliquely, as in the project, should reach that river by the shortest line ("ligne droite"), cross that river and gain the watershed on the opposite bank which separates the affluents of the Tchoroukh-Su from those of the Ardanueh-Su, and thence that it should follow this ridge, as far as practicable, to the point fixed by the Treaty of San Stefano to the south of Nariman. This is unquestionably the natural frontier, the watershed in point being a well-marked feature.

In their arguments the Turkish Commissioners reproduced the substance of the Memoranda which I submitted to Carathéodory Pasha through his Excellency Her Majesty's Ambassador on the 22nd April and 19th May respectively. Your Lordship has already received the first Memorandum. A copy of the second I have the honour herewith to inclose.

A lengthy discussion followed upon this new proposition of the Turkish Commissioners, and, in the end, the Russian Commissioner agreed to accept the view that the frontier should strike the Tchoroukh perpendicularly and cross the river at that point, but would not consent to the frontier-line being traced along the above-mentioned watershed. His alternative proposal was to give the frontier-line a direction parallel, and much nearer, to the Tchoroukh, while not following any natural features.

So that in principle the altered trace of the frontier is agreed upon, although the details have yet to be settled.

The frontier under discussion yesterday reaches about half-way to Olti from Artwin, and even if the Turks accede to the new trace proposed by the Russian Commissioners, they will regain about 50 square kilom. in that portion, but I am not without hope, from the unanimity upon the question which subsists among the Turkish Commissioners, permanent and temporary, and from the apparent decline of Russian influence, that the Turkish Government will support their own Delegates in the maintenance of the chief watershed on the right bank of the Tchoroukh as the true natural frontier.

As regards Turkish defence or British interests, the portion of the frontier under consideration yesterday has no great value, but it is so far of importance to Turkish administration that it includes some fertile valleys, and possesses an exclusively Mahommedan population. It is not until the neighbourhood of Olti that the tracing of the frontier becomes of importance from a strategical point of view, and where, therefore, it is most desirable that no more territory should be yielded by Turkey than the Signatory Powers intended, *i.e.*, the frontier should be traced in such wise as to give only the town and its immediate neighbourhood to Russia. I shall watch this part of the demarcation very closely, and report to your Lordship.

One important fact is to be noted with regard to the proceedings yesterday, that both Russians and Turks have now acknowledged that in their original project there had been an important departure from the spirit and letter of the Treaty of Berlin.

The error made is now only too apparent to the Turks, but it is late in the day to retrieve it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

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* Director of Military Education.
† General on the staff.
‡ Sub-President of the Council of the Imperial Guard (Khassa Mejlessi Reis-Vekili).

Inclosure in No. 46.

Memorandum.

SELON l'Article LVIII du Traité de Berlin, "la nouvelle frontière partant de la Mer Noire, conformément à la ligne déterminée par le Traité de San Stefano, jusqu'à un point au nord-ouest de Khorda et au sud d'Artwin, se prolonge en ligne droite jusqu'à la Rivière Tchorokh, traverse cette rivière et passe à l'est d'Aschmichen, en allant en ligne droite au sud pour rejoindre la frontière Russe indiquée dans le Traité de San Stefano à un point au sud de Nariman, en laissant la ville d'Olti à la Russie. Du point indiqué près de Nariman, la frontière tourne à l'est, passe par Tebrenec, qui reste à la Russie, et s'avance jusqu'au Pennek Chai. Elle suit cette rivière jusqu'à Bardouz puis se dirige vers le sud en laissant Bardouz et Yenikeuy à la Russie."

La partie de la frontière délimitée par la Commission partant de la Mer Noire et aboutissant à un point nord-ouest de Khorda et au sud d'Artwin, paraît être d'accord avec celle définie par le Traité de San Stefano.

Après Artwin l'Article LVIII stipule que "la frontière se prolonge en ligne droite jusqu'à la rivière Tchorokh, traverse cette rivière . . . . "

Ici le Traité est parfaitement clair; la ligne-frontière à partir du point fixé au sud d'Artwin doit être tracée perpendiculairement (en ligne droite) à la direction générale du Tchorokh, et doit être prolongée jusqu'à la rive droite de la rivière. Evidemment la seule interprétation qu'on puisse donner aux mots "en ligne droite" c'est le perpendiculaire; car si on admet la ligne droite être simplement une ligne directe, c'est clair qu'on peut tracer un nombre infini de lignes directes partant du point au sud d'Artwin et aboutissant sur différents points du fleuve Tchorokh.

Toutes ces lignes seront comprises sous la désignation de "directe;" mais il n'y a qu'une seule ligne droite; c'est la plus courte, le "perpendiculaire." C'est exactement pour éviter cette difficulté qu'on a précisé la direction de la frontière d'une manière explicite par l'emploi des mots "ligne droite."

Mais la frontière délimitée par la Commission montre une divergence importante des termes du Traité; et au lieu de traverser la rivière directement "elle suit la rivière Sari-Sou jusqu'à sa jonction avec la rivière Milo-Sou, et elle traverse cette rivière et suit la crête, &c. . . . . " C'est à dire que la ligne-frontière reste à la rive gauche du Tchorokh à une distance considérable.

En second lieu la frontière, d'après le Traité de Berlin, "se prolonge en ligne droite jusqu'à la rivière Tchorokh, traverse cette rivière et passe à l'est d'Aschmichen, en allant en ligne droite au sud pour rejoindre la frontière Russe indiquée dans le Traité de San Stefano à un point au Sud de Nariman, en laissant la ville d'Olti à la Russie, &c. . . . "

C'est-à-dire, la ligne-frontière après avoir traversé le Tchorokh à l'endroit même où la ligne perpendiculaire venant du point fixé au sud d'Artwin se croise avec la rivière, et après avoir gagné la crête sur la rive droite, doit se diriger directement jusqu'au point fixé au sud de Narimau, ainsi passant à l'est d'Aschmichen.

Mais d'après le tracé de la Commission, la rivière Tchorokh n'est traversée, qu'à un point près de Zor à 18 kilom. au sud de l'endroit envisagé par le Traité, et atteint Nariman par un détour considérable; toute la bande de terrain comprise entre la frontière ainsi tracée et la ligne droite imaginaire se trouvant à l'ouest, reste par conséquent à la Russie.

En effet, à Olti la ligne-frontière se trouve au moins à 10 kilom. à l'ouest de la ville sans aucun motif raisonnable.

Il est sans doute à la connaissance de tous, qu'à Berlin il y a eu une grande discussion à propos de la possession ultérieure d'Olti; une ville d'une grande importance stratégique à cause de sa position au débouché d'un défilé, et c'est seulement au dernier moment que le Congrès à décidé que la ville d'Olti soit cédée à la Russie. En présence de l'importance du terrain dans cette partie c'est difficile à comprendre pourquoi la frontière projetée a été tracée à une telle distance à l'ouest de la ville. On ne peut pas avancer que les limites de la ville peuvent s'étendre jusqu'à une distance de plus de 10 kilom., car en examinant la carte, on ne peut manquer de remarquer qu'entre la ville et la frontière proposée il y a des villages, tels que Tujurus et Tamrut. Je regarde cette partie du tracé comme très-importante.

De plus, le Traité continue ainsi: "du point près de Nariman la frontière tourne à l'est, passe par Tebrenec, &c."

Or, il y a deux Tebrences: l'un d'eux indiqué dans la carte de Kiepert se trouve

à l'est d'Olti, et l'autre est situé au sud-est. C'est le dernier que la Commission a choisi, tandis que l'autre, qui se trouve sur la carte de Kiepert (celle dont le Congrès de Berlin s'est servie) est ignoré. Tebrence se trouve différemment placé sur les deux cartes de Kiepert (la vieille carte et la nouvelle carte de l'année 1877). Sur la première sa position est environ E. 12° N. d'Olti; sur la dernière E. 15° S.; par conséquent assez conforme sous le rapport de direction au Tebrence supérieur et au Tebrence inférieur, respectivement, de la nouvelle carte Russe. Comme la position du Tebrence du Traité n'est pas clair, il s'ensuit qu'en premier lieu on devrait chercher sur la carte les accidents du terrain, surtout les crêtes, afin de donner une frontière naturelle. Cette frontière naturelle on peut trouver sur la crête bien marquée d'Abussar-Dagh.

Une bonne frontière pourrait être parfaitement bien tracée de Nariman en suivant la longueur de la chaîne d'Abussar-Dagh, et aboutissant au Pennek-Chai, à l'est de Pertuss. Alors Tebrence supérieur appartiendrait à la Russie, et Tebrence inférieur à la Turquie; une division très-juste quand il y a ambiguité dans le Traité. Mais l'étendue de terrain en dispute est ici très-petite, et je n'aurais pas fait aucune mention si ce n'est que pour la raison que dans un autre cas pareil, c'est-à-dire dans la fixation du point au sud d'Artwin, et au nord-ouest de Khorda, l'interprétation accordée aux termes du Traité de Berlin par la Commission a été en faveur de la Russie.

Encore une fois le tracé de la frontière est favorable à la Russie. Bardouz aussi est laissé à une distance de 2½ kilom. à l'est de la ligne-frontière. A mon avis la ligne-frontière délimitée par MM. les Commissaires est tracée sur toute sa longueur en faveur de la Russie sans compensation équivalente pour la Turquie.

Selon mon opinion la divergence des termes du Traité est la chose la plus grave, car il s'agit d'une question de principe, et je suis de l'avis que l'interprétation faite par la Commission des mots suivants de l'Article LVIII: "se prolonge en ligne droite jusqu'à la Rivière Tchorokh, traverse cette rivière, &c." (selon moi bien explicites), est une interprétation que les Puissances Signataires n'avaient jamais en vue.

Il y a un paragraphe dans le projet de frontière qui me semble être inadmissible, et qui est ainsi conçu:—

Les Délégués Russes et Ottomans sont tenus à se conformer à la carte ci-jointe lors des travaux de la Commission."

Cela engage la Commission d'accepter la carte soumise, avec toutes ses erreurs possibles; une carte entièrement nouvelle et dressée par une Puissance intéressée. La condition doit être du moins insérée que la carte est sujette à la vérification sur le terrain même.

Sent to his Excellency Her Majesty's Ambassador on the 19th May, 1879, for transmission to his Excellency Carathéodory Pasha.

(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE, *Lieutenant-Colonel.*

No. 47.

Major Trotter to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received June 25.)

(No. 13. Political.)

My Lord, *Erzeroum, June 7, 1879.*

SOME weeks ago some Turkish cavalry soldiers occupied two villages near Olti which the Russians maintain are within their boundary line. The matter was reported at the time by the Russian officer commanding on the frontier to M. Obermuller, the Russian Consul-General here, who apparently took no special notice of the complaint; but a few days ago M. Obermuller received a telegram from the Chief of the Staff of the Army of the Caucasus, in which he was directed to protest against the occupation, and insist on the evacuation, of the two villages. The Pasha, after some little delay, has sent an officer to the spot to order the troops to withdraw, but on condition that the villages shall remain unoccupied by either party until the question of proprietorship has been decided by the Frontier Commission. M. Obermuller, accompanied by Major Kamsaragan, a Military Attaché to the Consulate, proceeded yesterday to Olti (on the Russian side of the frontier) to see that matters were satisfactorily arranged, but I believe that his journey was really in great part due to a wish to visit Olti on private affairs.

I have discussed the matter both with the Vali Pasha and with the Russian Consul-General, neither of whom attach any serious importance to the affair, which

probably originated as a freak on the part of some subordinate officer. At the same time a dispute of this kind might at any time give rise to very serious consequences, and it is much to be desired, in the interests of all parties concerned, that the Commissioners for the delimitation of the new boundary should commence their labours *in situ* at as early a date as possible.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY TROTTER, *Major,*
Consul for Kurdistan.

No. 48.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke.

(No. 44.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, June 26, 1879.*

I HAVE this day informed you by telegraph that, according to a report received on the 23rd instant from Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at St. Petersburgh, the Russian Commissioner for the settlement of the Asiatic frontier has received instructions to take for his guidance the principles laid down in the 18th Protocol of the Congress of Berlin, and the line traced on the map which was communicated to me by Count Schouvaloff in May 1878.

M. de Giers, in making this communication to Mr. Plunkett, expressed a hope that you would also be furnished with a copy of this map, and instructed to follow its indications in your discussions on the subject of the frontier.

A copy of the map in question was forwarded to you for your use through Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, as stated in my despatch to you No. 1 of the 12th December last; and I have only to add explicitly, what you have doubtless understood, that you are authorized to accept it as your guide with regard to the line which it was intended that the frontier should take.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 49.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Plunkett.

(No. 363 B.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, June 30, 1879.*

WITH reference to Lord Dufferin's despatch No. 143 of the 27th April last, I transmit herewith, for your information, a copy of a despatch which I have received from Colonel Clarke, containing observations made by that officer on the representations addressed to his Excellency by Baron Jomini with regard to his proceedings as British member of the Commission for the Delimitation of the Turkish Frontier in Asia.

In this despatch Colonel Clarke explains with great clearness the points for which he has contended with his Russian colleagues, and as his arguments are in entire harmony with the views of Her Majesty's Government, I have to instruct you to draw up a Memorandum embodying the substance of those arguments, which you will place in Baron Jomini's hands for the information of the Imperial Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 50.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke.

(No. 45. Secret.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, June 30, 1879.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 50, marked Secret, of the 15th ultimo reporting the discussions which took place at a meeting held on the previous day by the Turkish and Russian members of the Asiatic Frontier Commission to reconsider the line of frontier between the Black Sea and Karaourgan.

Your proceedings in regard to this question have my entire approval.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 51.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 365.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, July 2, 1879.*

THE Russian Ambassador called upon me yesterday, and spoke to me on the subject of the Asiatic Boundary Commission, which his Excellency said had come to a deadlock on account of the difficulties raised by the British Commissioner.

I told Count Schouvaloff that I was prevented from discussing the subject, in consequence of the pretension of the Russian Commissioner to fix, without our consent, the point to the west of Karaourgan at which, according to the agreement made by me with his Excellency, the participation of the English Commissioner in the settlement of the frontier is to commence. The Turkish Commissioners, I said, had been induced, before Colonel Clarke's arrival, to agree to a certain line of frontier to the north and west of Karaourgan. With regard to points north of Karaourgan, Her Majesty's Government did not claim that their Commissioner had any voice, though it seemed evident that the Turkish Commissioners had consented to a tracing less favourable to the Porte than was contemplated in the Treaty. But as regards the point to the west of Karaourgan, we maintained that we had a right to see that it was so fixed as to satisfy the meaning of the words "près de Karaourgan," which, it was admitted, were used in the Treaty, though accidentally omitted from the signed copy. It was impossible for Her Majesty's Government to accept the point proposed by the Russian Commissioner, which, instead of being to the west, was, in reality, to the south-west of Karaourgan.

I have informed your Excellency, by telegraph, of the substance of the above conversation, and have requested you to endeavour to clear the matter up, and to induce the Russian Government to instruct their Commissioner to the effect that the point to the west of Karaourgan, mentioned in the Treaty, must be settled by agreement with the English as well as with the Turkish Commissioners.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 52.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Colonel Clarke.

(No. 47.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, July 3, 1879.*

I SHOULD be glad to be informed of the exact position in which you stand with the Russian Commissioner with regard to the question of the point, west of Karaourgan, at which the Asiatic Boundary Commission, of which you are a member, shall commence their labours.

A telegram, marked No. 4, was addressed to you to-day in this sense.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 53.

Mr. Plunkett to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received July 7.)

(No. 284.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, June 23, 1879.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 282 of the 20th instant, M. de Giers informed me that Colonel Zelennoi, who had succeeded General Stebnitsky as the Russian Member of the Commission for the delimitation of the Asiatic frontier of Turkey, has been instructed to act on the principles laid down in the 18th Protocol of the 11th July 1878, and to draw the line of frontier in conformity with that which was traced upon the map exchanged between your Lordship and Count Schouvaloff.

Colonel Zelennoi has been furnished with a copy of the map referred to, and M. de Giers begged me to convey to your Lordship his hope that you would also send a copy of it to Major Clarke, and authorize him to accept it as the basis of the future line of frontier.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. R. PLUNKETT.

No. 54.

Mr. Plunkett to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received July 7.)

(No. 307.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, July 2, 1879.*

WHEN I called this afternoon on M. de Giers to announce to him the arrival of Her Majesty's Ambassador this evening, his Excellency said there was one subject which he wished to allude to, as the negotiations upon it have been carried on principally with me.

Count Schouvaloff had telegraphed that an understanding has been come to between Major Clarke and the Russian Commissioner respecting the line of frontier in Asia and the point whence the British Commissioner is to take part in the work of delimitation.

M. de Giers said he hoped this news was true, for he greatly deplored the delays which had taken place. At the same time he feared there must be a mistake somewhere, for his last accounts from Prince Labanoff showed Major Clarke to be still holding aloof from the Commission until his view of the question was conceded, or until he received your Lordship's instructions to re-enter it. I suggested to his Excellency that the Earl of Dufferin might probably bring information; that all I knew was that your Lordship had provided Major Clarke with a tracing of the map on which the line had been agreed upon with Count Schouvaloff, and I reminded his Excellency that he had, in our last interview on this subject, informed me that he had sent a copy of the map to Colonel Zelenoi, with instructions to take it as the basis on which to work out the line, and that his Excellency had further expressed the desire that Major Clarke should be also furnished with a copy, and similarly instructed to accept it as his guide.

M. de Giers went on to complain of Major Clarke as wishing to upset arrangements come to between the Turks and Russians, *i.e.*, a majority of the Commission, and also as wishing to interpret the words of the Treaty in a sense which they had not been intended to bear.

I said that the majority principle had not been accepted, nor could it be accepted, as the mode of decision in this case. It was very good where several Powers were represented, as in the European Delimitation Commissions, but was impossible where three only took part.

As regards his second complaint against Major Clarke, his Excellency must recollect that the Treaty said from a point "west of Karaourgan," whereas the point which M. de Giers contended had been agreed upon between the Russian and Turkish Commissioners—but which I still believed had not been approved by the Turkish Government—was considerably to the south-west of Karaourgan, and therefore Major Clarke could not properly accept it.

M. de Giers said he sincerely hoped the information conveyed by Count Schouvaloff was correct, and that an arrangement had been come to. In order, however, to be quite certain that there was no mistake on this point, he begged me to telegraph to your Lordship at once, and inquire whether it was so or not.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. R. PLUNKETT.

No. 55.

Sir A. H. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received July 15.)

(No. 595.)
My Lord, *Therapia, July 8, 1879.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose translation of a communication I have received from the Porte relating to the extent of territory to be ceded to Persia with Khotour. I also inclose copy of a Memorandum which Colonel Clarke has, at my request, drawn up on the subject, and which, I venture to suggest, should be submitted to General Sir Arnold Kemball before it is communicated to the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 55.

Communication from the Porte.

(Traduction.)

LE Grand Vizir s'est adressé au Seraskierat pour lui dire qu'il était nécessaire de presser le départ de la Commission chargée de fixer les nouvelles frontières Persanes.

Le Seraskier répond que la section de l'Etat-Major ignore l'étendu du territoire de Khotour qui doit être cédé à la Perse d'après le Traité, et comme l'Article LX du Traité de Berlin dit : "Céder à la Perse la ville et le district de Khotour, ainsi que l'avait déterminé la Commission Mixte chargée de la délimitation des frontières Turco-Persanes, au sein de laquelle se trouvaient des Délégués Anglais et Russe, le Seraskierat s'était adressé au Grand Vizir en date du 21 Zilcadé pour demander (afin de les faire parvenir à la Commission de Délimitation de Bayazid) copie des cartes contenant les explications nécessaires et du rapport contenant les délibérations qui ont eu lieu au sein de la susdite Commission. Jusqu'ici aucune réponse du Grand Vizir ne lui est parvenue. La Commission qui doit fixer les frontières de la Perse doit avant tout déterminer la frontière du côté de Bayazid à partir de Cara-Orghan sur la frontière Asiatique Russe, jusqu'aux anciennes frontières Russes, et puis s'occuper de la frontière Persane. Toutefois, comme la Commission réunie au Seraskierat pour déterminer la frontière d'Anatolie n'a encore rien décidé au sujet du territoire qui s'étend depuis Cara-Orghan jusqu'à l'ancienne frontière Russe du côté du Bayazid, il est évident que la Commission ne pourra pas être envoyée sur les lieux. En conséquence le Serasker prie le Grand Vizir d'envoyer au plus tôt les cartes et le rapport concernant le district de Khotour, conformément à la demande déjà formulée, pour être remis à la Commission.

5 *Redjib*, 1296 ($\frac{12}{24}$ *Juin*, 1879.)

Réponse du Grand Vizir.

J'ai pris connaissance de la dépêche de votre Excellence. La Porte ignore l'existence du rapport en question, et l'Ambassade d'Angleterre n'ayant trouvé aucune trace de ce document s'est adressée à Londres. Elle espère le recevoir ces jours-ci et il vous sera envoyé dès qu'il nous parviendra. J'envoie ci-joint deux télégrammes reçus à la Porte demandant copie légalisée du rapport et des cartes concernant les nouvelles frontières du côté de Khotour, qui avaient été dressées et approuvées des deux côtés sous signature lors de la conclusion du Traité de San Stéfano.

Inclosure 2 in No. 55.

Memorandum.

THERE is no trace of any project of frontier or report among Sir A. Kemball's papers. From what General Zelinoi told me on a recent occasion, the deliberations of the English and Russian mediators (Sir A. Kemball and General Zelinoi) had not reached the stage of drawing up a report. When the Servian war broke out, which interrupted the deliberations, the mediating Commissioners were at issue with regard to one or two points beyond the rayon of Kotour. But with regard to the frontier at and near Kotour, the two mediating Commissioners, General Zelinoi tells me, were agreed so far as he recollects.

The working map of the Turco-Persian frontier, used by Sir A. Kemball, is with me.

(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

Constantinople, July 6, 1879.

No. 56.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received July 15.)

(No. 55. Secret.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, July 6, 1879.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that yesterday the second meeting of the Commission was held for the reconsideration of the frontier between the Black Sea and Karaourgan.

In my despatch No. 50 of 15th ultimo, I informed your Lordship of the proceedings of the first meeting held for the same purpose on the 14th June. At that meeting it transpired that some of the Turkish Commissioners were in difficulties as to the value to be given to the words "à l'est de Aschmischen," and, generally, the Turkish proposition did not appear to me to have been very clearly put forward. In consequence of this, I sought an interview with Carathéodory Pasha and submitted for his consideration the principles which, in my view, should underlie the interpretation of the Treaty. He said that he was convinced of the justice of my observations, and that he would endeavour to induce the Seraskier to cause his officers to take the same view. To avoid any misunderstanding, I gave him a written Memorandum, a copy of which I have the honour herewith to inclose.

The result has been that the Turkish Commissioners unanimously adopted the view expressed in that Memorandum at the meeting yesterday. The Russians, as might be expected, would not accept the Turkish interpretation of the Treaty, and sought to separate the discussion of the frontier at this section into two parts; viz. (1) from point south of Artwin to Aschmischen; and (2) from Aschmischen to Nariman; thus evading the whole spirit of the Treaty, while at the same time using the same plea under which they always take refuge when the discussion becomes inconvenient or unfavourable to them—absence of instructions.

A copy of the letter written after the séance by the President of the Commission to the Minister of Foreign Affairs is herewith inclosed for your Lordship's information.

The indisputability of the Turkish position is so manifest, that I ventured to tell the Turkish Commissioner that, in the event of the Russians not yielding on this point, he might fearlessly submit the matter in dispute to the arbitration of no-matter-what independent Power.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 56.

Memorandum left with Carathéodory Pasha on the 19th June, 1879.

IL paraît qu'il n'y a aucune différence entre les opinions exprimées par les deux Commissaires Russe et Turc en ce qui concerne le point où la ligne-frontière, après avoir traversé le Tchorokh, atteint la crête sur la rive droite de la rivière. Jusqu'ici ils sont donc d'accord.

Il s'agit maintenant de continuer.

Or, le Traité de Berlin déclare que de ce point la frontière "passe à l'est d'Aschmischen, en allant en ligne droite au sud pour rejoindre la frontière Russe indiquée dans le Traité de San Stéfano à un point au sud de Nariman . . . ."

Il y a donc deux conditions à remplir:—

1. Que la frontière soit tracée en ligne droite du point sur la crête jusqu'au point au sud de Nariman.

2. Qu'elle passe à l'est d'Aschmischen.

La ligne droite théorique, proposée par le Commissaire Ottoman, qui est conforme aux vues et aux termes du Traité de Berlin doit, à mon avis, servir de base pour les discussions ultérieures; c'est-à-dire, que cette ligne devrait servir de base générale, mais que, afin de donner une frontière naturelle, elle devrait être brisée à droite ou à gauche selon les accidents du terrain, en donnant aux deux Puissances limitrophes des compensations de territoire d'un côté ou de l'autre.

La proposition faite dans ces termes par le Commissaire Ottoman est, selon moi, basée sur des vrais principes, et ne pourrait être contestée.

Quant au point d'Aschmischen, je crois qu'il a été choisi au hasard. Ce point, selon la Carte de Kiepert de 1877, n'était pas précisément connu, comme il y est marqué aussi avec un point d'interrogation.

En décrivant par des mots la ligne-frontière projetée par les Plénipotentiaires à Berlin, il était convenable qu'un endroit, n'importe lequel, soit choisi, et le hasard tomba sur Aschmischen.

Mais, quoique l'expression "à l'est d'Aschmischen" est vague, il n'y a pas de doute sur la portée de l'expression "ligne droite," et, en tout cas, on n'avait pas l'intention de toucher au tracé de la frontière, qui, en principe, comme il est distinctement indiqué, devait être une ligne droite du point sur la rive droite du Tchorokh jusqu'au point au sud de Nariman. Cette ligne droite est le principe cardinal du tracé de cette section de la frontière.

Inclosure 2 in No. 56.

Nedjib Pasha to Carathéodory Pasha.

Excellence, *Constantinople, le 5 Juillet*, 1879.

D'APRÈS l'ordre de votre Excellence nous devions nous réunir, Délégués Ottoman et Russe, pour nous entendre sur les deux propositions différentes* concernant le tracé de la frontière qui se trouve entre le sud d'Artwin et le sud de Nariman.

Comme nous devions nous tenir exactement conforme à l'Article LVIII du Traité de Berlin, qui dit:—"Du sud d'Artwin (la frontière) se prolonge en ligne droite jusqu'à la rivière Tchoroukh, traverse cette rivière, et passe à l'est d'Aschmischen, en allant en ligne droite au sud pour rejoindre," &c. (voir la carte Russe dont on s'est servi dans le Congrès de Berlin), nous avons proposé, d'après ce paragraphe, que la frontière, en traversant la rivière Tchoroukh, aboutisse en ligne droite jusqu'au sud de Nariman, et comme la ligne droite ne pourrait pas être une frontière applicable aux terrains, nous avons proposé en même temps d'appliquer pour les deux côtés le mode de compensation.

Mais les Délégués Russes déclinèrent notre proposition, en déclarant que leurs instructions étaient bornées seulement sur la discussion de la partie de frontière entre le sud d'Artwin et une colline avant l'Aschmischen.

Par conséquent, nous nous sommes séparés sans aucun résultat.

Daignez, &c.
(Signé) NEDJIB.

No. 57.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received July 15.)

(No. 57. Secret.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, July 8*, 1879.

IN my despatch No. 55 of the 6th instant I had the honour to communicate to your Lordship the result of the second meeting held by the Russians and Turks to reconsider the frontier between the Black Sea and Karaourgan. One of the inclosures in that despatch was a letter written by the President to the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, stating that the meeting had been abortive of result owing to the Russian Commissioner pleading inadequacy of instructions. Last night I received from my Turkish colleague (who keeps me informed of everything that passes) copy of the answer of the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs to the President of the Commission, and which I have now the honour to transmit for your Lordship's information.

The tone of that answer, which shows the intention not to yield to the astute but miserable subterfuges of the Russian Commissioner, leads me to take a much more favourable view of the ultimate result of these sittings than I have hitherto expressed to your Lordship. Since my interview of the 17th June, as detailed in my despatch No. 55, Carathéodory Pasha has expressed himself very strongly on this frontier question, and has shown an air of determination to contest the matter at issue to the last—a spirit which it is quite refreshing to see after the tone of indifference and weakness which characterized the conduct of the Turkish Commissioners at the earlier meetings.

If the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs succeeds in carrying his point, to which he is in justice entitled, not only will the Turks regain a considerable portion of the 250 square kilomètres which they had unnecessarily yielded to Russia, but a much better frontier will follow as a matter of course near Olti, where, as I had the honour to point out to your Lordship on a recent occasion, territory becomes of strategical importance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

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* C'est-à-dire les propositions Russe et Turque.—F. C. H. CLARKE.

Inclosure in No. 57.

Carathéodory Pasha to Néjib Pasha.

(Secret.)

M. le Général, *Constantinople, le 6 Juillet*, 1879.

J'AI eu l'honneur de recevoir votre lettre en date du 5 Juillet.

Je ne comprends pas bien pour quel motif le Général Stébnitsky, qui avait précédemment tracé toute la ligne allant jusqu'au sud de Nariman, allégue aujourd'hui le défaut d'instructions pour s'arrêter à une colline près d'Aschmischen.

Je ne peux pas voir pourtant que cette circonstance soit de nature à empêcher le travail dont nous étions convenus dans la séance de Mercredi passé avec le consentement de leurs Excellences le Séraskier et le Prince Labanoff.

Eu égard à la divergence d'opinions qui s'était manifestée au sein de la Commission, on était tombé d'accord que chacune des deux parties tracerait sa ligne à partir de Tchorouk-Sou jusqu'au point au sud de Nariman indiqué par le Traité.

La carte portant ce double tracé devrait être signée par les Commissaires respectifs et accompagnée d'un court mémoire explicatif afin de permettre aux deux Gouvernements, ou pour mieux dire au Gouvernement Russe, de se prononcer en connaissance de cause.

Tout cela doit et peut être fait aujourd'hui aussi. M. le Général Stébnitsky est libre de s'arrêter où il voudra.

Quant à nous, je suis d'avis que nous ne pourrions suivre son exemple pour la raison que dans notre système le point au sud de Nariman est celui-là même qui décide la direction de la ligne droite passant près d'Olti.

Afin donc de ne pas retarder le travail plus longtemps, il me semble que nous devons nous en tenir pour notre part à la décision de Mercredi; sauf au Général Stébnitsky à s'arrêter au parti qui lui paraîtrait le plus convenable.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé) A. CARATHÉODORY.

No. 58.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 393.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, July* 19, 1879.

I HAVE this day informed your Excellency, in my telegram No. 145, that I have received from Colonel Clarke a telegram reporting that the Russian member of the Commission for the delimitation of the Asiatic frontier contends that in principle Great Britain has no voice in the determination of the point west of Karaourgan, and that, therefore, the Commission has no option but to accept, as the point of departure for its work, the spot where the old frontier intersected the parallel of that village.

Your Excellency will represent to M. de Giers that the line of argument adopted by the Russian Commissioner is entirely contrary to the engagement entered into between Count Schouvaloff and myself, as well as to the facts admitted by the late Russian Commissioner, as recorded in three signed Protocols, and you will express to him the hopes of Her Majesty's Government that such instructions will be sent to the Russian Commissioner as will enable the Commission to proceed with its work.

Your Excellency will further remind M. de Giers that Her Majesty's Government have used their best endeavours to bring about a satisfactory settlement of questions pending on the Montenegrin frontier, and they have a right to expect from the Russian Government a reciprocal exhibition of the same conciliatory views in the demarcation of the Asiatic frontier.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 59.

The Earl of Dufferin to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received July 21.)

(No. 316.)

My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, July* 16, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to state with reference to your telegram No. 129 of the 2nd July, that M. de Giers informed me, in a conversation I had with him on Wednesday, the 9th instant, that he understood the difficulties with regard to the delimitation of the new Asiatic frontier between Turkey and Russia had been adjusted in a sense that tallied with the views of the British Commissioner, and that the Russian Commissioner had telegraphed to him not to make any official use of the map upon which he had laid down the frontier in the neighbourhood of Karaourgan, from whence M. de Giers concluded that the line laid down by the Turkish Commissioner would be the one adopted.

I think it would be convenient if I could be furnished with a tracing of the conflicting lines above referred to, as M. de Giers does not seem to me to have very clear notions of the points in issue.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 60.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke.

(No. 51.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 21, 1879.

YOU will have learnt from my telegram No. 6 of this day's date, that the question which has arisen in the Commission for the delimitation of the Asiatic frontier is forming the subject of negotiations between Her Majesty's Government and the Russian Government, the result of which will be communicated to you as soon as Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburgh reports that any definite conclusion has been arrived at.

In the meanwhile I have to state to you that your proceedings meet with the approval of Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 61.

Lord Tenterden to Sir A. Kemball.

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 21, 1879.

A DESPATCH, of which a copy is inclosed herewith, has been received from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, from which it appears that the Porte is anxious to obtain, for the use of the Commission charged under Article LX of the Treaty of Berlin to determine the extent of territory which is to be ceded to Persia with Khotour, copies of the maps and of a Report said to have been drawn up by the Anglo-Russian Commission of which you were a member.

Colonel Clarke, having reported that he is unable to discover any project of frontier or Report by the Mixed Commission among the papers to which he has access, Lord Salisbury has directed that Sir H. Layard's despatch, with its inclosures, shall, in accordance with his Excellency's suggestion, be referred to you, and I am to request that you will favour his Lordship with any observations you may have to offer with regard to the documents referred to by the Porte.

I am, &c.

(Signed) TENTERDEN.

No. 62.

Sir A. Kemball to Lord Tenterden.—(Received July 22.)

My Lord, 79, *Queen's Gate, July* 22, 1879.

I HAVE had the honour to receive your Lordship's letter, dated yesterday, with inclosure relating to the delimitation of the Turco-Persian frontier at Khotour.

The Porte's desire "to obtain, for the use of the Commission charged under Article LX of the Treaty of Berlin to determine the extent of territory which is to be ceded with Khotour, copies of the maps and of a Report drawn up by the Anglo-Russian Commission of which you were a member," is based on an erroneous assumption dating from the deliberations of the Congress at Berlin.

I am myself unaware of the existence of any such Report.

General Tzelonoi, in his communications with Colonel Clarke, fully confirms the facts of the case as before represented by me.

If I might be allowed to offer a suggestion, I would observe that it would probably enlighten all parties concerned and obviate the occasion of further references if Colonel Clarke were furnished with copies of my letters to your Lordship's address, dated respectively the 28th October and the 6th November of last year, and also copies of General Sir Fenwick (then Colonel) Williams' reports from the spot relating to the expropriation of Khotour.

It will be seen that the Seraskier's reference to "l'étendu du territoire de Khotour qui doit être cédé à la Perse d'après le Traité, et comme l'Article LX du Traité de Berlin dit, 'céder à la Perse la ville et le district de Khotour ainsi que l'avait déterminé la Commission Mixte chargée de la délimitation des frontières Turco-Persanes au sein de laquelle se trouvaient des Délégués Anglais et Russe,'" is a *mauvaise plaisanterie* attributable to the course of negotiations at Berlin for the modification of the Treaty of San Stefano.

The concluding portion of the Seraskier's communication to the Grand Vizier is no doubt well-founded, but has relation to a state of things with which the Commission for the delimitation of the Turco-Persian frontier had no concern.

I may here mention that I yesterday received a communication (unofficial) from the British Embassy at Constantinople, which inclosed a Memorandum from the Porte asking for the restitution of the official maps handed by the Porte to the second Commission sitting at Constantinople, of which I was a member. These maps, I have replied, should be found sealed up (with similar official maps handed to the Commission by the Persian Ambassador at Constantinople) in the press which stood in the room of the British Embassy, in which the Joint Commission worked. *Vide* also my letter (unofficial) of last year to Mr. Layard (forwarding an inventory of the maps so deposited), of which a copy was retained at the Foreign Office.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. R. KEMBALL.

No. 63.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir A. H. Layard.

(No. 955.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 22, 1879.

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram No. 570 of this day's date, reporting to me the threatening language which the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople has used with regard to the action which his Excellency states will be taken by the Russian Government, unless the difficulty which has arisen in the Commission for the delimitation of the Asiatic boundary is speedily settled. In reply, I have informed your Excellency that the conciliatory nature of the language which has been held by Russian authorities to Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburgh leads me to believe that Prince Labanoff must have exceeded his instructions.

I have, however, caused your telegram to be repeated to Lord Dufferin, with instructions to request M. de Giers to give an explanation of the Prince's language. His Excellency has lately informed me that so little is known at St. Petersburgh of the merits of the question at issue that he is of opinion that it will be necessary to settle the matter at Constantinople.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 64.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 396.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, July* 22, 1879.

I HAVE this day acquainted your Excellency in my telegram No. 147 with the threatening language held by the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople with regard to the action which his Government intend to take in the event of the difference which has arisen in the Commission for the delimitation of the Asiatic frontier not being settled without further delay.

Your Excellency will express to M. de Giers the surprise with which Her Majesty's Government have learnt this intelligence, and request from him an explanation of Prince Labanoff's language.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 65.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke.

(No. 53.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 22, 1879.

I HAVE instructed you in my telegram No. 7 of this day's date to keep Sir H. Layard informed of the position of affairs with regard to the question at issue in the Commission for the delimitation of the Asiatic frontier, and to report to his Excellency your own action in the matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 66.

Sir A. Kemball to Lord Tenterden.—(Received July 23.)

My Lord, 79, *Queen's Gate, July* 22, 1879.

I APPREHEND, with reference to my letter of to-day, that an omission may have been inadvertently made in the 3rd paragraph.

Speaking of the Porte's desire "to obtain, for the use of the Commission charged under Article LX of the Treaty of Berlin to determine the extent of territory which is to be ceded to Persia with Khotour, copies of the maps and of a Report said to have been drawn up by the Anglo-Russian Commission, of which you were a member," I observe that "I am myself unaware of the existence of such a Report."

I should have added—The Seraskier is quoting the Treaty of Berlin as elucidated by the observations of the several Plenipotentiaries, and makes no allusion to any Commission of which I was a member.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. R. KEMBALL.

No. 67.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 417.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, July* 23, 1879.

IT appears from the telegram from Sir H. Layard, of which the substance was repeated to your Excellency in my despatch No. 396 of the 22nd instant, that the misunderstanding which has arisen between Colonel Clarke and the Russian Commissioners with regard to the point west of Karaourghan, from which the southern portion of the Turco-Russian boundary in Asia is to start, has not yet been cleared up. The discrepancy between Prince Labanoff's language and that of M. de Giers is so marked that I cannot believe that the statement made by the former as to the intended advance of the Russian troops to the disputed frontier was authorized by his Government, and I therefore pass it by for the present, and shall proceed to state, for

your Excellency's guidance in your communications with M. de Giers, how the case stands.

You will remember that, after a great deal of discussion between Count Schouvaloff and myself, we arrived at the agreement (recorded in the notes interchanged on the 13th and 17th February) that we would compromise our respective claims in regard to the delimitation of the boundary, by the common admission that the participation of the British Commissioner was to commence "depuis Karaourghan." We did not take note of the fact that Karaourghan is not itself on the frontier, and it would perhaps have made the intention of our agreement clearer if the words "un point à l'ouest près de Karaourghan" had been used instead of the name of the place. But it is evident that the meaning of the agreement was that the participation of Colonel Clarke should commence at the exact point of the frontier which is due west of Karaourghan; in other words, the point where the frontier intersects the latitude of that place. The Russian Commissioner, however, as I understand, has tried to make the participation of our Commissioner commence at a point to the south-west of Karaourghan. Her Majesty's Government cannot admit this limitation of their rights.

Secondly, the Russians contend that an agreement to allow Colonel Clarke to participate in the delimitation "depuis Karaourghan," or, to speak more properly, "depuis un point à l'ouest près de Karaourghan," does not imply that he shall have any share in fixing that point itself. That is a contention which seems to Her Majesty's Government to be irrelevant to the issue, and therefore they will not express an opinion upon it. It reposes on a false view of the functions of delimitation. The Treaty fixes certain starting points, but it does not fill up the intervals. In order to draw the line between the fixed points which otherwise would remain uncertain, the Commission of Delimitation is appointed. Its function is to supplement, not to supersede, the stipulations of the Treaty. Those Powers who take part in the delimitation have alone a right to be heard on the question of the intermediate lines. But all the Powers who have signed the Treaty have a right to see that the points established by the Treaty are retained.

It is not therefore only by virtue of my agreement with Count Schouvaloff, but by virtue of the general rights of Great Britain as a Signatory of the Treaty, that Her Majesty's Government claim a right to a voice in the question whether the point selected to the west of Karaourghan is "près" or not. They cannot consent to allow the effect of that important word to be defined without their assent. They claim—

First, that Great Britain shall take part in the decision whether the point to the due west of Karaourghan at which the frontier passes is "près" or not.

Secondly, that from that point, when agreed upon, Colonel Clarke shall take part in the delimitation.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 68.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke.

(No. 54.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, July 24, 1879.*

IN reply to your despatch No. 55 of the 6th instant, I have to express to you my approval of your proceedings with reference to the discussion which has arisen as to the interpretation of that part of Article LVIII of the Treaty of Berlin which describes the line of frontier to be traced between Artwin and a point to the south of Narinian.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 69.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 416.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, July 24, 1879.*

WITH reference to your Excellency's telegram of the 23rd instant, No. 113, reporting the observations made by M. de Giers respecting the proceedings of the Commission for the delimitation of the frontiers between Russia and Turkey in Asia, I have informed you by telegraph to-day that full instructions as to the views of

Her Majesty's Government on this subject were sent to you by last night's messenger.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 70.

Sir A. H. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received July 29.)

(No. 650.)
My Lord, *Therapia, July 22, 1879.*

PRINCE LABANOFF asked me last night whether I could not interfere to induce Colonel Clarke to attend the meeting of the Commission for the delimitation of the frontier between Russia and Turkey in Asia from Karaourgan. He complained that, in consequence of Colonel Clarke's refusal to take part in the proceedings of the Commission, it had been at a standstill for the last two months. The season was advancing, and unless some arrangement was come to which would enable the Commissioners to proceed to the spot without further delay, they would be unable to conclude, or perhaps even to commence, their labours this year. The Russian Government could not allow this state of things to continue. The frontier, inhabited by wild tribes, was in continual disorder, which was increased by the present uncertainty. The Russian Government had, therefore, resolved to take stringent measures, unless the question were immediately settled. It would give orders to the Russian troops to advance, to turn out the Turks, and to take possession of the line of frontier which suited Russia ("qui nous convient"). The Porte might "cry out" as it liked after this had been done. He had warned Carathéodory Pasha of the consequences of the Turkish Delegate joining with Colonel Clarke in arresting the work of the Commission. Prince Labanoff maintained that Colonel Clarke was entirely in the wrong in his interpretation of the Treaty of Berlin, and that if England were to have a voice in the settlement of the point west of Karaourgan, from whence the remainder of the boundary was to be traced, and did not accept that to which the Russian and Turkish Commissioners had already agreed, the whole of the frontier-line hitherto laid down might have to be changed, and to this Russia could not consent.

I told Prince Labanoff that I had no authority whatever to give instructions to Colonel Clarke, and that all I could do would be to submit what he had stated to your Lordship.

I have informed Colonel Clarke of what passed between Prince Labanoff and myself. He said that he had fully explained the question at issue in a despatch to your Lordship sent through me to-day under flying seal, and that he could only await your Lordship's instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 71.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received July 29.)

(No. 63.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, July 21, 1879.*

I HAVE the honour herewith to transmit copies of letters which have recently passed between the new Russian Commissioner and myself, bearing upon the subject matter of my telegrams Nos. 61 and 62, from which your Lordship will perceive that the Russian Commissioner distinctly enunciates the principle that Great Britain has no voice in the determination of the point west of Karaourgan.

As I had anticipated for some time past, the appointment of a new Russian Commissioner, ostensibly on account of the so-called illness of General Stobnitsky, had for its real object to endeavour to annul the work of the latter, in so far as he had admitted the right of the British Government to participate in the fixation of the point west of Karaourgan.

This right being beyond my powers or those of the Russian Commissioner to discuss, and involving a question of principle, which, I apprehend, the respective Cabinets can alone determine, I have been obliged to appeal to your Lordship for instructions.

As, however, it appears on the Protocols of this Commission that I have always upheld that Great Britain has the right to a voice in the determination of the point west of Karaourgan, I would beg to submit to your Lordship very briefly the grounds upon which my opinion on this subject has been formed.

By the 18th Protocol of the Treaty of Berlin, Prince Hohenlohe states that the Representative of Russia agrees to the withdrawal of the frontier of the San Stefano Treaty to a point west of Karaourgan, as the result of the discussions between the Representatives of Great Britain and Russia.

The Delimitation Commission of Berlin, after taking note of this declaration of the Representative of Russia, proceeds to indicate in terms a proposed frontier, starting from a point west of Karaourgan and terminating at the old frontier of Russia; but the Delimitation Commission not possessing the necessary information with regard to the ground, nor the maps, &c., sufficient to enable it to come to a decision with regard to the difficulties which have arisen between the British and Russian Delegates, proposes to refer the ultimate trace to be determined on the ground by a military Commission of the three Powers.

The framers of the Treaty of Berlin, in full knowledge of the difficulties which had arisen, and of their proposed remedy, drew up Article LVIII. In this Article it is said that the frontier "suit cette rivière (Pennek Tschai) jusqu'à Bardouz, puis se dirige vers le sud, en laissant Bardouz et Youkeui à la Russie."

In my humble judgment it is here—at this last full stop in the Treaty—that the competence of the Russo-Turkish Commission to trace the frontier ends, and where the duties of the Tripartite Commission commence. For the next paragraph begins, "D'un point à l'ouest près du village. . . ," showing, from the use of the indefinite article, that a point had yet to be chosen, viz., the point to which the frontier of the San Stefano Treaty had to be retired. Upon whom should this act of selection devolve but upon the Representatives of the Powers between whom the difficulties had arisen? It seems to me that according to the spirit and wording of the Treaty of Berlin, that the Russo-Turkish Commission had no right to trace their line of frontier definitively beyond the parallel of Youkeui until the point west of Karaourgan, duly fixed by the Tripartite Commission, gave them a point upon which to direct their frontier.

The letter of Count Schouvaloff to your Lordship, dated the 13th February last, shows that the Imperial Cabinet of Russia agreed to the participation of Great Britain in the delimitation of the frontier, "depuis Karaourgan," which can have no other meaning than that the Representative of that last-named Power was to have a voice in the interpretation of the Treaty from and after the paragraph having reference to that village.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 71.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to General Zelenoi.

M. le Général, *Thérapia, le 18 Juillet*, 1879.

A PROPOS de notre conversation d'avant-hier, voudriez-vous bien avoir la bonté de décrire en mots la position exacte du point que vous proposez à l'ouest de Karaourgan comme point de départ de nos travaux.

Les Commissaires de la Russie et de la Turquie en ont déjà connaissance; quant à moi, Représentant d'une Puissance intéressée, j'ignore tout-à-fait la position du point en question.

Sous ces conditions inégales je n'ai qu'à vous réitérer que la question d'assister à une séance pour moi est impossible sans avoir reçu vos renseignements détaillés, ou bien sans avoir vu votre carte, afin que je puisse fixer le point sur la mienne.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) F. C. H. CLARKE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 71.

General Zelenoi to Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke.

M. le Colonel, *Buyukdéré, le 17 Juillet*, 1879.

LA notice de son Excellence M. l'Ambassadeur de Russie du 28 Juin, 1879, à son Excellence M. l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre, résume l'opinion de M. l'Ambassadeur de Russie sur le point en question à l'ouest près de Karaourgan, explique sa position mathématique fixée par MM. les Délégués Russes et Turcs de la première Commission, et se prononce positivement sur l'absence des droits de la deuxième Commission de discuter ce point, déjà fixé par la première Commission.

En présence de cette opinion de mon Ambassadeur, pour moi obligatoire, il ne me reste, M. le Colonel, d'autre alternative, qu'à constater en votre présence de Délégué Britannique et membre de la deuxième Commission, de mon côté comme Délégué Russe et membre de la même Commission, officiellement en séance plénière de la deuxième Commission, l'exacte position du point choisi par MM. les Délégués Russes et Turcs de la première Commission, sur les deux exemplaires documentals de la carte, signés par MM. les Délégués Russes et Turcs de la première Commission.

J'aime à croire, M. le Colonel, que vous de votre côté, désirant accélérer les travaux de la frontière Turco-Russe, qui intéressent les deux pays limitrophes, vous nous rejoindrez dans la deuxième Commission.

Les conditions inégales pour vous, dont vous avez la bonté de me signaler l'inconvénient, provenant d'après votre opinion de ce que [vous ignorez jusqu'à présent le point de départ des travaux de la deuxième Commission][*] sur la carte, seront, j'ose l'espérer, mises au néant par votre seule présence au sein de la Commission et par la constatation dans la Commission devant vous du point en question.

C'est aussi au sein de la Commission que se serait présenté la possibilité de fixer sur votre carte ce point d'une manière officielle, ce qui n'aurait pas eu lieu à la suite des pourparlers privés. Dans ce but d'ordre de mon Ambassadeur, sur l'invitation de la Sublime Porte, je me suis rendu au jour fixé à la Commission, muni de notre exemplaire de la carte documentale, et je regrette infiniment que votre absence à la Commission n'a pas permis jusqu'à présent de faire la constatation du point en question.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) A. ZELENOI.

Inclosure 3 in No. 71.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to General Zelenoi.

M. le Général, *Thérapia, le 20 Juillet*, 1879.

J'AI l'honneur d'accuser réception de votre aimable lettre du 17 Juillet.

En réponse, j'ai l'honneur de faire observer que les Protocoles de la seconde Commission démontrent qu'à la première séance le Président de la Commission constata en séance plénière que la première Commission n'a pas fixé le point à l'ouest de Kara-Ourgan et qu'elle n'avait pas même le droit de le déterminer, sans la participation du Commissaire Britannique. De plus, le premier Protocole prouve que le Commissaire Russe ayant la parole, ne souleva aucune objection à cette affirmation de la part du Président.

Les Protocoles, en outre, démontrent que trois séances ont été presque entièrement consacrées à la discussion du point de départ pour les travaux de la Commission.

Par conséquent, j'ai cru que j'avais le droit de supposer que le Commissaire Russe a admis en principe le droit du Commissaire Britannique d'assister à la détermination du dit point.

Le rejet de ce principe par vous, M. le Général, ayant soulevé des questions entièrement nouvelles, j'ai dû référer l'affaire à la décision du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique.

Je saisis, &c.
(Signé) F. C. H. CLARKE.

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[*] This perversion of my letter is an illustration of the way in which the Russian Commissioner conducts business.—F. C. H. C.

No. 72.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir A. H. Layard.

(No. 983.)
Foreign Office, July 29, 1879.

Sir,

THE tracing of the Asiatic frontier sent home with Colonel Clarke's despatch No. 38 of the 22nd May last has been forwarded to Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburgh for his examination. Lord Dufferin now informs me that the map received by the Russian Government does not correspond with Colonel Clarke's tracing.

I have requested your Excellency to inform that officer of this fact, and to state to him that I should be glad to see an exact fac-simile of the map in the possession of the Russian Government if he is able to procure one.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 73.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 421.)
Foreign Office, July 29, 1879.

My Lord,

I HAVE to request that your Excellency will endeavour to obtain and to send home a copy of the map received by the Russian Government from their Commissioner for the demarcation of the Russo-Turkish frontier in Asia, to which allusion is made in your telegram of yesterday.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 74.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke.

(No. 57.)
Foreign Office, July 31, 1879.

Sir,

WITH reference to the large tracing of the Asiatic frontier which accompanied your despatch No. 38 of the 22nd May last, I should be glad to learn as soon as possible from what map it was taken; and if you are able to procure a copy, I have to request that you will send it home by the earliest opportunity.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 75.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 1, 8 A.M.)

(No. 65.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, August* 1, 1879, 7·30 A.M.

IN reply to your Lordship's telegram No. 8, the map with my No. 38 is a tracing of the new Russian map, scale 1 verst to the inch. Frontier traced thereupon is a fac-simile of that shown on the map given to me by the Commission.

No. 76.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 2, 9 A.M.)

(No. 66.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, August* 1, 1879.

WITH reference to your telegram to Sir H. Layard No. 190 communicated to me. At an interview with Russian Commissioner this day he assured me that he has sent to St. Petersburgh all the documents bearing on the points in dispute, and also the map showing the frontier traced by the Russian and Turk. This map

should reach St. Petersburgh about this date. The map described by Mr. Plunkett would, therefore, appear to be superseded, and point mentioned by him is probably that of the Treaty of San Stefano. It should be remembered, however, that the termination of the frontier so traced was not the point shown me in Commission—which point I was prepared to accept—and is at variance with project of frontier inclosed in my despatch No. 23, which distinctly mentions the frontier as following the watershed. In fact, the Russian point belongs to the system of frontier which was abandoned with surrender of point Y.

Map mentioned in your telegram No. 8 has been promised.

No. 77.

The Earl of Dufferin to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 4.)

(No. 328.)
St. Petersburgh, July 19, 1879.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to state that M. de Giers has just informed me, with many apologies, that he must have misunderstood the purport of Prince Labanoff's telegram in reference to alleged settlement of the controversy between the British and Russian Commissioners respecting the delimitation of the Russo-Turkish frontier near Karnourgan. It now appears that the dispute is still open, but unfortunately Prince Labanoff was too busy to furnish full explanations to M. de Giers by his last courier, and had been obliged to defer dealing with the matter until the next post.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 78.

The Earl of Dufferin to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 4.)

(No. 330.)
St. Petersburgh, July 23, 1879.

My Lord,

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 147 of the 22nd instant, and the language reported by Sir Austen Layard as having been addressed to him by Prince Labanoff, to the effect that if the delimitation of the frontier between Turkey in Asia and Russia was not soon satisfactorily settled the Russian troops would receive orders to advance to the line claimed by the Russian Commission, I have the honour to state, that M. de Giers assures me that the Prince's expressions are entirely unauthorized by his Government, that no such orders have been given or are in contemplation, and that Prince Labanoff's allusion must be merely considered as the rhetorical expression of his personal impatience at the delays which have supervened on the tracing of the frontier. It is only this morning that M. de Giers has received the papers referring to this subject, but the Russian map which ought to have accompanied them has not arrived. He has begged me, therefore, to defer the discussion of the matter until Friday, by which time he will have had leisure to study the documents.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 79.

The Earl of Dufferin to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 4.)

(No. 347.)
St. Petersburgh, July 28, 1879.

My Lord,

I BEG to thank your Lordship for the receipt of the copy of Colonel Clarke's map of the localities through which the new frontier between Russia and Turkey in Asia is to pass.

Provided with this instrument, I waited to-day upon M. de Giers, who was attended by an officer from the Intelligence Department armed also with a map of the same district, which had just been sent home to the Russian Foreign Office from the Caucasus. On comparing these two maps, however, it at once became apparent that the supposed identical lines laid down upon them did not coincide.

The red line on Colonel Clarke's map, noted as representing the boundary agreed upon between the Russian and Turkish Commissioners, terminated on the Russian map at a spot a little to the north of the parallel of Karaourgan, and at a distance of six versts from that place, instead of one, as noted by Colonel Clarke.

No other lines were laid down upon the Russian map at all, and when I again explained to M. de Giers the nature of the difficulty which had arisen between the British Commissioner and his Russian colleague, as to the point at which the former claimed the right of intervention, M. de Giers appeared as ignorant as heretofore of the real gist of the controversy.

Under these circumstances, it was no good continuing the discussion, and M. de Giers suggested that I should give him another day to re-examine the papers forwarded by Prince Labanoff.

The Russians are undoubtedly very anxious to hasten the work of delimitation, and I do not think that the extraordinary absence of the necessary materials for enabling M. de Giers to apprehend the question is at all designed. It seems to have arisen simply from carelessness on the part of those commissioned to provide the necessary information.

Colonel Clarke's contention is so manifestly reasonable, and in accordance both with the letter and the spirit of the Berlin Treaty, that I have no doubt, when once M. de Giers understands the matter, we shall have no difficulty in arriving at a satisfactory settlement of the dispute.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 80.

The Earl of Dufferin to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received August 4.*)

(No. 365.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, July 30, 1879.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose you copy of the tracing on the Russian map of the delimitation of the new frontier between Russia and Turkey in Asia, so far as it has been agreed upon between the Turkish and Russian Commissioners.

On the original shown to me the red and yellow line did not extend beyond the point "X," which purports to correspond with the "X" marked on Colonel Clarke's map.

As I have only this moment received this tracing—and the messenger being on the point of starting—I have not had time to ascertain what is the meaning of the plain red line which continues the red and yellow dotted line.

In fact, when I again waited upon M. de Giers to-day to go into the subject he frankly confessed to me that, in consequence of his continued absence from St. Petersburgh since I had last seen him, he had not been able to resume the study of the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 81.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received August 5.*)

(No. 64.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, July 23, 1879.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 41 of the 26th June, authorizing me to accept the indications of the map left with your Lordship by Count Schouvaloff in May 1878 as my guide in the delimitation of the new Turco-Russian frontier in Asia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

No. 82.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received August 6, 1 P.M.*)

(No. 67.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, August 6, 1879, 10·25 A.M.*

IN reply to telegram No. 9, I have the honour to submit that Giers' agreement is not sufficient as it stands in the telegram. In order to enable us to resume negotiation here the point west of Karaourgan must be determined between Governments on arguments in Protocols.

According to telegram he agrees to a point on the parallel. Does he also admit second element, viz., that the point is on the watershed? If not, I beg to submit five following reasons in support of point west of Karaourgan being at the intersection of the watershed with the parallel:—

1. Shed is the natural and the best frontier.

2. The previous frontier (see Inclosure 1 in my despatch No. 23), passing to the west of Bardouz and Yeniky, and thence towards Karaourgan, has followed continuation of same watershed.

3. It complies with condition "près."

4. It was shown me in Commission (see Protocol 2) as the termination of the previous frontier.

5. The Turkish and British Representatives on the Commission have recorded their opinion in favour of it.

No. 83.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received August 6.*)

(No. 68.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, August 6, 1879, 12·15 P.M.*

WITH regard to first part of your telegram No. 10, I have the honour to state that the fact of having a copy in my possession of the 1-verst map furnished by Russian Commissioner, and of your Lordship having tracing thereof, is conclusive evidence of its existence.

With regard to last part, I have the honour to reaffirm that map showing the previous frontier was at my request, and with the consent of the Commission, furnished to me. This is immaterial, and for our purpose it may be considered as never having been communicated, as I guarded myself by having the termination of previous frontier shown me in Commission, a point which was identical with that on the map. It was not until after I had accepted the point so shown that the Russian questioned its correctness.

No. 84.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 443.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, August 7, 1879.*

COLONEL CLARKE'S latest telegrams which have been forwarded to your Excellency explain the present state of the dispute respecting the frontier near Karaourgan.

The views of the British Commissioner appear to be just and reasonable.

In all the other Boundary Commissions wherever practicable, the line of the watershed has been adopted.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 85.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 12.)

(No. 66.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, August 1, 1879.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I have this day dispatched to the Foreign Office the following telegram in cypher:—

"No. 66. With reference to your Lordship's telegram to Sir Henry Layard, No. 890, which has been communicated to me. At an interview with the Russian Commissioner this day, he assured me that he has sent to St. Petersburgh all documents bearing on the points in dispute, and also the map showing the frontier traced by the Russians and Turks. This map should reach St. Petersburgh about this date. The map described by Mr. Plunkett would appear, therefore, to be superseded, and the point mentioned by him is probably that of the Treaty of San Stefano.

"It should be remembered, however, that the terminal point of the frontier so traced was not the point shown me in Commission, which point I was prepared to accept, and is at variance with the project of frontier inclosed in my despatch No. 23, which distinctly mentions the frontier as following the watershed. In fact, the Russian point belongs to a system of frontier which has been abandoned with the surrender of the point Y.

"The map mentioned in your Lordship's telegram No. 8 has been promised."

As the copy of the last-mentioned map may not arrive from Tiflis for some little time, my Russian colleague tells me, I have caused another tracing to be made of the country near Kuraourgan. This tracing I have the honour herewith to inclose.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

No. 86.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir A. H. Layard.

(No. 1064.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, August 14, 1879.*

I HAVE caused your Excellency's despatch No. 595 of the 8th ultimo to be referred to Major-General Sir Arnold Kemball, as suggested by you.

I now transmit, for your information, copies of my letter to Sir A. Kemball and of two letters which I have received from that officer in reply.*

Your Excellency will perceive that the Report on the Turco-Persian boundary, which the Porte is under the impression had been drawn up by the Anglo-Russian Commissioners, has no existence.

In his Memorandum, which accompanies your Excellency's despatch, Colonel Clarke states that the working map of the Turco-Persian frontier used by Sir A. Kemball is in his (Colonel Clarke's) possession.

With regard to the papers which Sir A. Kemball suggests should be supplied to Colonel Clarke, I have to state that copies of the letters of the 28th October and 6th November last were forwarded to him with my despatch No. 14 of the 28th March last.

A copy of the Report drawn up by Sir Fenwick Williams of the 12th September, 1852, relating to the expropriation of Khotour, which was sent home by Lieutenant-Colonel Shiel, is inclosed herewith.†

The unofficial letter addressed by Sir A. Kemball to your Excellency, to which he makes allusion, was dated the 28th January last, and a copy is also inclosed for convenience of reference.‡

I further transmit, for your Excellency's information, a sheet of the Turco-Persian frontier, on a reduced scale, containing the country in the neighbourhood of Khotour, with the boundary as proposed by Sir A. Kemball and the Russian Commissioner marked thereon, and which proposed boundary-line is alluded to in the previous correspondence on this subject as the "silver-ink" line.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

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* To Sir A. Kemball, July 21; Sir A. Kemball, July 22; Sir A. Kemball, July 22; 1879.
† Lieutenant-Colonel Shiel, No. 138, September 29, 1852.
‡ Sir A. Kemball to Sir A. H. Layard, January 28, 1879.

No. 87.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke.

(No. 60.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, August 14, 1879.*

I TRANSMIT herewith, for your information, copies of the despatches noted in the margin, which I have received from Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburgh, relative to the misunderstanding which has arisen respecting the delimitation of the Russo-Turkish frontier near Kuraourgan.*

A copy of the tracing on the Russian maps, so far as it has been agreed upon between the Turkish and Russian Commissioners, which accompanies Lord Dufferin's despatch No. 365, is also inclosed herewith; and I request that you will furnish me with any observations you have to offer upon the remarks contained in his Excellency's Reports Nos. 347 and 365 of the 28th and 30th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 88.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke.

(No. 61.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, August 14, 1879.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 14 of the 28th March last, I transmit herewith, for your information, copies of the correspondence marked in the margin, relative to the delimitation of the Turco-Persian frontier at Khotour.†

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 89.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 452.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, August 16, 1879.*

I TRANSMIT herewith, for your Excellency's information, copies of the correspondence marked in the margin‡ relative to the delimitation of the Turco-Persian frontier at Khotour.

I also inclose, for your information, a sheet of the Turco-Persian frontier on a reduced scale, containing the country in the neighbourhood of Khotour, marked with the so-called "silver-ink line," to which reference has been made in previous correspondence upon this subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 90.

The Earl of Dufferin to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 18.)

(No. 368.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, August 8, 1879.*

I HAD a conversation yesterday with M. de Giers on the Karaourgan question.

M. de Giers fully admitted that the British Government had a right to be consulted as to the determination of the point at which, under the Treaty of Berlin,

* The Earl of Dufferin, Nos. 328,* 336,* 347, and 365.* (Those marked with a star were sent with despatch No. 59 of August 7.)
† Sir A. H. Layard, No. 1534, December 15, 1878. Sir A. Kemball to Sir A. H. Layard, January 28; Sir A. H. Layard, No. 595, July 8; to Sir A. Kemball, July 21; Sir A. Kemball (two), July 22; to Sir A. H. Layard, No. , August , 1879. Lieutenant-Colonel Shiel, September 29, 1852.
‡ Sir A. H. Layard, No. 1534, December 15, 1878. Sir A. Kemball to Sir A. H. Layard, January 28; Sir A. H. Layard, No. 595, July 8; to Sir A. Kemball, July 21; Sir A. Kemball (two), July 22; to Sir A. H. Layard, No. 1064, August 14, 1879. Lieutenant-Colonel Shiel, September 29, 1852.

the British Commissioner was entitled to intervene, and also agreed to placing it on the parallel of Karaourgan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 91.

The Earl of Dufferin to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received August* 18.)

(No. 370.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, August* 3, 1879.

M. DE GIERS informed me yesterday that there is no such thing as a 1-verst Russian map of the districts bordering on the Russo-Turkish frontier, and informed me that Prince Labanoff denies that a map of any sort was communicated by the Commission to Colonel Clarke.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

P.S.—In a subsequent conversation, M. de Giers read to me a despatch from Prince Labanoff, in which his Excellency expressly alluded to the 1-verst map, consequently M. de Giers must have been under a misapprehension when he assured me that there was no such thing.

D.

No. 92.

The Earl of Dufferin to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received August* 18.)

(No. 374.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, August* 9, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that M. de Giers has just called upon me, bringing with him an entirely fresh trace of the southern portion of the proposed delimitation of the Asiatic frontier between Turkey and Russia. In handing it he explained, to my very great surprise, that the previous trace which he had represented as having been just received from the Caucasus, and of which I forwarded your Lordship a copy on the 30th ultimo, had been laid down from description, and had, therefore, been inaccurate.

I could not help observing on the very insufficient grounds on which, under these circumstances, the accuracy of Colonel Clarke's trace had been called in question, and expressed my regret that our time should have been so needlessly wasted over the discussion of what had evidently been a purely imaginary line of demarcation. The trace on the new map, a copy of which I am promised in time for this mail, seems to correspond pretty accurately with that furnished by Colonel Clarke, except that shortly before reaching the parallel of Karaourgan it turns off from the crest, and descends in a south-westerly direction towards the river, reaching the parallel of Karaourgan about half a verst to the westward of Colonel Clarke's point.

Appearing at last to have in our possession the materials necessary to the discussion of the question in issue between our respective Commissioners, I proposed to M. de Giers that he and I should at once endeavour to settle the controversy.

I then referred to the second and third Protocols of the Conferences of the Delimitation Commission held on the 19th and 32nd May last, and pointed out the positive manner in which the Turkish Commissioners denied that they had ever left the crest, or agreed to the frontier being deflected towards the river in the manner represented on the Russian map.

M. de Giers seemed very much surprised at these remarks, and told me that he had not seen the Protocols in question, and that consequently he must postpone the further discussion of the subject until they were sent to him from Constantinople.

I further gathered, from the general character of M. de Giers' observations, that he is not empowered to do more than enter into a preliminary conversation with me on these subjects, with the view of their being ultimately referred to the Minister of War.

M. de Giers then intimated to me that he had received a telegram from Constantinople to the effect that the Russian Ambassador had been informed by Sir Austen Layard that he, M. de Giers, had admitted Colonel Clarke's right to determine the point west of Karaourgan, but that he had never intended to make any such admission. Upon this I showed him a copy of my telegram to your Lordship No. 123 of the 3rd August, with the language of which he declared himself perfectly satisfied, adding, of his own accord, that he would be quite ready "to put his hand to" ("souscrire") the document.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 93.

The Earl of Dufferin to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received August* 18.)

(No. 388.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, August* 13, 1879.

YESTERDAY I had another long conversation with M. de Giers on the Karaourgan question. He had not yet received copies of the Protocols for which he had written, and was therefore still unable to go into the matter definitely. He seemed inclined to argue, however, that if the Turkish and Russian Commissioners were agreed upon the frontier, and that it struck the parallel of Karaourgan at a point which was absolutely "near," to that place, the English Government could hardly object, even though the point in question was a little to the westward of the point marked on Colonel Clarke's map.

He added that Prince Labanoff had telegraphed to him that the map of which he had shown me a copy was a map which had been signed by the Turkish Commissioners, and that therefore they were not in a position to dispute the accuracy of the trace indicated upon it.

I replied that, although under the Treaty of Berlin the intervention of the English Commissioner was not to take place until after the parallel of Karaourgan had been reached, it was evident that the deflection to the westward from the crest of the hill was designed to influence the location of that portion of the frontier which lay south of the parallel of Karaourgan, and that this was a circumstance which the British Government would be entitled to take into consideration, even supposing the deflection had been agreed to by the Turkish Commissioners, which had evidently not been the case.

I then called M. de Giers' attention to the way in which the Russian Commissioner had endeavoured to get the matter prejudged before Colonel Clarke's arrival, by continuing the trace to a point considerably to the south of Karaourgan, adding that there could be no doubt as to what his aim had been in so doing, and that it was impossible to expect either the English or the Turkish Governments to agree to any frontier which did not secure the strategic safety of Vezin. Under these circumstances, I felt sure that neither his Excellency nor the Emperor would be inclined to approve of the abnormal deflection to the westward from the mountain crest into the valley which the Russian Commissioner had attempted to impose upon his colleagues.

I can see that M. de Giers is very much inclined to give way upon the point, but his position is a very difficult one, as he does not like to make any admission for which he may be called to account by the Minister of War, in whose opinion on all these frontier questions the Emperor is naturally inclined to place great confidence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 94.

The Earl of Dufferin to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received August* 18.)

(No. 389.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, August* 14, 1879.

IN continuation of my despatch No. 374 of the 9th instant, I have the honour to forward to your Lordship a tracing of the map, transmitted by Prince Labanoff to

M. de Giers, professing to be the official map of the Asiatic boundary, signed by the Russian and Turkish Commissioners.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 95.

Sir A. H. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received August* 19.)

(No. 717.)
My Lord, *Therapia, August* 11, 1879.

COLONEL CLARKE having urgently represented to me the expediency of prevailing upon the Porte not to permit the departure of the Turkish Commissioner for the delimitation of the new Russian frontier in Armenia until certain questions in dispute relating to it had been settled at Constantinople, I begged him to give me his reasons in writing, which I could submit to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs. He accordingly addressed me the letter, copy of which he inclosed in his despatch to your Lordship No. 80 of the 10th instant, and which I have communicated to Safvet Pasha.

Colonel Clarke further states to me that, in his opinion, "the Turks would be quite justified in refusing to let their Commissioner commence delimitation, on the grounds that the project of frontier is not agreed upon. This would force the Russians to show cause why they rejected the Turkish revised project. Then, should it appear that the refusal of Russia is an arbitrary attempt to avoid carrying out the Treaty in its integrity, Turkey would appear justified in calling the attention of the Signatory Powers to the mode in which their decrees were being set at defiance. But knowing how utterly reckless in their statements are the Russians, it is necessary to have something more to go upon than General Zelenoi's verbal statement. Hence it will be necessary for the Turks to obtain the grounds of the Russian refusal to discuss the question in writing. It would be well if Safvet Pasha, before returning an answer to the grounds of the refusal, communicated with your Excellency."

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 96.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received August* 19.)

(No. 70.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, August* 10, 1879.

MY despatches Nos. 50, 55, and 57 will have placed your Lordship in possession of all the information, up to a certain date, with regard to the disputes which have arisen on the Russo-Turkish Commission dealing with the delimitation between the Black Sea and Karaourgan.

In continuation of those despatches I have the honour to inform your Lordship that, in accordance with the instructions conveyed in a letter from his Excellency Carathéodory Pasha (a copy of which was inclosed in my despatch No. 57 of the 8th July, 1879), the Ottoman Representatives on the Boundary Commission submitted, on the 8th July, their amended trace of the frontier between Artwin and Nariman, accompanied by a "Mémoire explicatif," for ultimate transmission to the Russian Government.

That Mémoire, a copy of which I herewith inclose for your Lordship's information, appears to me correct in its facts, logical and even indisputable in its arguments, being based on a clear conception of the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin.

To that Mémoire, although upwards of a month has elapsed since it was forwarded, the Russian Government has vouchsafed no answer, and certain circumstances of recent occurrence would tend to show that the Russians purpose avoiding any further discussion of the question at issue between the respective Boundary Commissioners.

The data which have led me to draw this inference are—

1. An important statement voluntarily made in the course of conversation by my Russian colleague, to the effect that a telegram had been recently received from Russia that the Government had declined to admit the validity of the objections which the

RUSSO-TURKISH FRONTIER
in
ASIA
under the
TREATY OF BERLIN
BATOUM
ARTVIN
EXPLANATION
Yellow

Porte had raised to the project of frontier originally drawn up by the Boundary Commission, that is to say, refused to accept the amended project of the Turkish Representatives with respect to the frontier between Artwin and Nariman.

2. That General Stebnitzky, the Russian Commissioner for the Boundary, left Constantinople on the 6th instant for the frontier, to meet a large party of topographers now on their way from Tiflis.

3. That the Turkish Commissioner, Chehab Bey, has also received orders to proceed without delay to Batoum, his instructions being to carry out the demarcation "between the Black Sea and Artwin."

The Porte had been induced to accede to this arrangement at the strong solicitation of the Russian Ambassador, whose object is probably to get the Commissioners away from Constantinople, under the pretext of demarcating only that portion of the frontier in respect to which the two Governments are in agreement, and then, the Commissioners being away and the demarcation commenced, to break the news that the Russian Government holds to the original signed project.

Assuming these events to take place, and the delimitation commenced, the Porte, with the signed project in existence, would then find itself in an embarrassing and inextricable situation, having given an implied consent to the project by the mere fact of having commenced to carry out its provisions.

Knowing that Her Majesty's Government sets great store on the execution in its integrity of the Treaty of Berlin; seeing that the project of frontier as it now stands, should the decision of the Russian Government to reject the amended trace be correctly reported and be persevered in, is at variance with that Treaty; with Prince Labanoff's language to Sir Henry Layard on the 21st ultimo fresh in my recollection; feeling that the Turkish Commissioner on the frontier, being alone and in the clutches of the Russian Commissioner, might be coerced, or forced by circumstances beyond his control, into demarcating the whole frontier; I conceived it to be my duty to address a letter to his Excellency Her Majesty's Ambassador (copy inclosed), pointing out that the Porte did not seem to have sufficiently considered the possible consequences of permitting their Representative to proceed to the frontier to carry out on the ground, even in part, a project which they had rejected, and an important amendment of which was still under reference; and submitting, for his Excellency's consideration, the expediency of using his influence with the Porte to countermand the departure of their Commissioner.

There was another reason for detaining the Ottoman Commissioner which I could not well include in my despatch, but which I mentioned privately to Sir Henry Layard, viz., that Chehab Bey has invariably kept me informed of what is going on behind the scenes, and has sent me copies of the private correspondence which has passed between the Porte and the Seraskeriate with reference to the Boundary Commission, advantages of which his departure would deprive me.

I trust that my proceedings will meet with your Lordship's approval.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 96.

Memorandum.

(Secret.)

(APRÈS avoir cité l'Article LVIII du Traité de Berlin.)

D'après cet Article, la frontière, après avoir traversé la Rivière Tchoroukh, doit se diriger en ligne droite, en passant à l'est d'Asmichen et près d'Olti, laissant cette ville à la Russie, jusqu'à un certain point au sud de Nariman.

C'est l'esprit du Traité, qui est conforme même à la carte Russe en petite échelle dont on s'est servi au Congrès de Berlin et dont le croquis est joint au présent.

En examinant cette carte on voit clairement que la ligne de frontière, après avoir passé la Rivière Tchoroukh, va en ligne droite au sud de Nariman.

On a mentionné dans cet Article Asmichen et Olti, parce que ce sont les deux seules localités qui se trouvent près de la ligne de frontière.

Donc, il ne sera pas conforme ni au Traité, ni à la dite carte, si la ligne de frontière, après avoir passé le Tchoroukh, aille vers Asmichen et de là en ligne droite au sud de Nariman, comme comprennent MM. les Délégués Russes, parce que si ça serait comme ça, la ligne de frontière ne serait pas une ligne droite, mais deux lignes formant un angle près d'Asmichen.

La direction normale de la frontière, d'après le susdit Article et la carte mentionnée, étant en ligne droite, il sera naturellement difficile d'appliquer cette ligne sur le terrain; mais si le Gouvernement Russe accepte la direction normale en ligne droite, on peut dévier de cette ligne d'un côté à l'autre et appliquer le système de compensation sans s'éloignant trop de cette ligne et en cherchant autant que possible la frontière naturelle.

Si on transporte le tracé de frontière indiqué sur la carte Russe dont on s'est servi à Berlin, sur une autre carte topographique sur une grande échelle, récemment levée par les topographes Russes, la ligne de frontière sera celle qui est tracée en rouge, laquelle présente la ligne de frontière normale déterminée par le Congrès de Berlin.

Si le Gouvernement Russe voudrait appliquer sur cette ligne rouge le système de compensation, nous proposons la ligne tracée par la couleur jaune, laquelle présente le système de compensation équitable pour les deux Gouvernements respectifs.

(Signé) NÉDJIB.
ALI.
FEYZI.
OSMAN.
EDHÉM.
CHÉHAB.

Le 8 Juillet, 1879.

Inclosure 2 in No. 96.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to Sir A. H. Layard.

Constantinople, August 8, 1879.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that General Stebnitzky, the Russian Commissioner for the delimitation of the frontier between the Black Sea and Karaourgan, left Constantinople for the frontier on the 6th instant, and the Turkish Commissioner, Colonel Chehab Bey, informed me to-day that he had received orders from the Porte to proceed to Batoum without delay.

As the project of frontier between the Black Sea and Karaourgan, submitted by the Russo-Turkish Commission to their respective Governments for approval, has never been ratified by the Porte, in fact, has been rejected by the latter as being at variance with the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin, it is difficult to explain this last action on the part of the Russian Government, except on the hypothesis that it intends by the removal of its Commissioner to avoid any further reopening of the discussion of this part of the frontier.

This hypothesis is in part confirmed by the voluntary admission of General Zelenoy at an interview yesterday, at which he informed me that the Russian Government had declined to admit the validity of the objections which the Porte had raised to the project of frontier as originally drawn up by the Commission.

As this decision on the part of Russia, provided that General Zelenoy's statement be consistent with his instructions, and provided also such a course be persevered in, demonstrates an intention to set at nought the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin, I have conceived it my duty to address your Excellency on this subject with a view to your taking such action with the Porte as may seem to your Excellency's judgment most fitting.

To this end it may be perhaps desirable to remind your Excellency of the present state of the negotiations with regard to the delimitation of that part of the frontier which comes within the competence of the Russo-Turkish Commission.

About the 20th April last the said Commission submitted for the approval of their respective Governments a certain project of frontier, but the Turkish Government, finding that this project in regard to certain points was inconsistent with the letter and spirit of the Treaty of Berlin, returned it to their Commissioners for reconsideration.

At a subsequent meeting of the Commission the Turkish Representatives, taking as a commencement that part of the frontier between the point south of Artwin and the point south of Nariman, proposed a new trace for this section. The new trace, while rectifying the faults in the interpretation of the Treaty which had marked the original project, was, in my judgment, perfectly in accord with the intentions of the Signatory Powers, and the Turks, in putting forward their amended trace, did no more than claim a boundary, to which they were justly and rightly entitled.

The Russian Commissioner declined to accept this new proposition of the Turkish

Representatives, and, in lieu thereof, suggested some very slight and unimportant modification of the original trace, while at the same time evading the main question at issue.

The trace, as proposed to be modified by the Russian concession, was still open to the objection that the frontier would remain at variance with the terms of the Treaty.

No agreement between the Commissioners being possible, neither side being inclined to give way, it was arranged that they should each trace their amended frontiers on a map, and that this map, with the pleas in support of their respective projects, should be submitted for the decision of the Governments concerned.

The Turks submitted their amended map and their pleas for transmission to the Russian Government on the 8th July, since which date nothing more has been heard, but, if we are to draw the most ordinary inferences, the departure from Constantinople of General Stebnitzky, coupled with General Zelenoy's verbal admission, would seem to show that the Russians have simply and abruptly broken off all further negotiations on the subject.

The Porte, I am informed, has as yet received no intimation that the Russian Government declines to reconsider the project of frontier; otherwise I can hardly believe that it would permit its Commissioner to leave Constantinople until it has had time to consider the grounds, and reply, if necessary, to the arguments of the Russian refusal, or until the project of frontier has been definitively ratified in its entirety.

It is true that the Turkish Commissioner has instructions to limit his work of delimitation to that part of the frontier between the Black Sea and Artwin, a section of the boundary which appears to have been laid down fairly in conformity with the Treaty, and to the trace of which the Turkish Government has raised no objection.

The Porte, therefore, may be expected to urge that it is only right to avoid the evils which may arise from any further delay in the settlement of that part of the frontier line, in which it finds itself in agreement with the Russian Government.

But, as I have already pointed out, the true reason for the departure of General Stebnitzky is, in all probability, to be found in the determination of the Russian Government to avoid further argument on the trace of the frontier between Artwin and Nariman, and to force on the Turks the acceptance of the delimitation embodied in a project, which has been already rejected by the Porte, on the important ground of its deviation from the letter and spirit of the Treaty of Berlin.

Under these circumstances, and as the instructions which I have received from Her Majesty's Government enjoin me to exercise the greatest vigilance with regard to any violation of the Treaty of Berlin, I beg respectfully to submit, for your Excellency's consideration, the expediency of bringing the interpretation herein suggested of General Stebnitzky's departure to the notice of the Porte, so that it may be warned in time of the danger of letting its Commissioner commence the delimitation of the frontier in accordance with a project which is at variance in important points with the Treaty of Berlin.

Another objection which I conceive against the departure of the Ottoman Commissioner is, that the question with regard to the exact position of the point west of Karaourgan, which is to be the terminal and initial point respectively of the two Commissions, is under reference to the Governments, and that until this question is settled the frontier of the Russo-Turkish Commission is incomplete, and is liable even to modification in the latter part of its trace.

As this question would appear by the last advices from St. Petersburgh to be under discussion, and to be getting ripe for decision, the absence of the Ottoman Commissioner, in the event of any references being made to those between whom the arguments took place, might entail great inconvenience and delay in the work of the Tripartite Commission.

Moreover, Colonel Chehab Bey is the only member of the Commission who has local knowledge of the district in which the frontier has to be determined.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

No. 97.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 23, 2 P.M.)

(No. 71.) *Therapia, August 23, 1879, 11·55 A.M.*
(Telegraphic.)

RUSSIAN map (inclosure in Lord Dufferin's No. 365), purporting to show frontier of Russo-Turkish Commission, is a falsified document.

Giers, whether wilfully or not, appears deplorably ignorant of question. If it is willfulness, he has been trying to deceive Lord Dufferin by a spurious map; if unpremeditated, Russians have been neglectful of their duty in keeping him in ignorance for nearly three months of real frontier agreed upon by the Russo-Turkish Commission and of the Protocols of Tripartite Commission.

I am curious to examine correctness of the second Russian map promised to be forwarded to your Lordship by Lord Dufferin on the 11th August.

No. 98.

The Marquis of Salisbury to the Earl of Dufferin.

(No. 477.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, August 25, 1879.*

IN your Excellency's telegram No. 129 of the 21st instant, reporting your conversation with M. de Miliutine, relative to the difficulty which has arisen in the settlement of the position of the Asiatic frontier of Turkey near Karaourgan, your Excellency expresses the opinion that, if a tentative frontier for that part of the line were laid down on the Russian 1-verst map by the military authorities in London, it might not improbably be accepted by the Russian Government, and might then be sent to the Commissioners as an instruction for their general guidance, subject to any modifications which might be found necessary on an examination of the ground.

I have this day informed your Excellency, in reply, that the papers on this subject have been referred to Sir L. Simmons, with a view of ascertaining whether the proposed course was practicable, and that I had likewise communicated the substance of your Excellency's telegram to Colonel Clarke, for his opinion as to the practicability of this plan for settling the difference which has arisen.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 99.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Colonel Clarke.

(No. 64.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, August 25, 1879.*

IT appears from a telegram received from Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg that the substance of which has this day been repeated to you, that, owing to the non-arrival of the Protocols of the Asiatic Frontier Commission, M. Giers has been unable to discuss with Lord Dufferin the question of the frontier in the neighbourhood of Karaourgan. His Excellency had, however, gone into the matter with M. de Miliutine, and the latter had suggested that a British Commissioner should be associated in the Commission from the point where a divergence occurs in the maps held respectively by the Russian and Turkish Delegates, provided always that the British Commissioner should be willing to agree to a delimitation which would close the door between Karaourgan and Vezin as effectually on the one side as on the other. Lord Dufferin believes M. de Miliutine's object in making this proposal to be to prevent the eastward turn of the frontier line towards Medjingest being quite as sharp as would result from a strict observance of the terms of the Treaty. M. de Miliutine stated, however, that the matter, in his opinion, is a difficult one to settle except on the spot.

Lord Dufferin suggests that an understanding might be facilitated if a tentative frontier were laid down by the military authorities in London on the 1-verst map for that part of the line immediately in dispute. He is of opinion that such a line might be accepted at St. Petersburgh, if traced in an equitable manner, and that it might subsequently be sent to the Commissioners as an instruction for their general

guidance, leaving them power to make such modifications as might appear to them necessary, after an examination of the ground.

I have requested you to give me your opinion whether a provisional arrangement, such as Lord Dufferin suggests, would be practicable.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 100.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received August 27.)

(No. 73.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, August 26, 1879.*

THE Russian copy of the Protocols was signed before the 12th July, and my colleague assured me on the 7th August that he had already sent them to St. Petersburgh. Will not Giers accept as authentic our printed copy of Protocols, which bears his own Commissioner's signature?

It seems that the Russian Government are desirous of shutting their eyes to arguments in Protocol which are adverse to them, and are bent on substantiating, if possible, their own Commissioner's case.

Miliutine's object is at one with the endeavour here of the Russians to evade Treaty, whereas our desire is, and always has been, to place an equitable interpretation upon it.

I would submit, as a counter-proposition, that if the Russian Government will accept intersection of the watershed with the parallel of Karaourgan as the point of departure for our work, we, on our side, will engage to consider favourably any proposition with regard to lands round Karaourgan not detrimental to the defence of the Zewin position.

I beg to submit, with all deference, that Lord Dufferin's proposal would not facilitate matters. It leaves out of court the Turkish Commissioner, and as it proposes to take away from the Commissioners the functions to which they have been specially delegated, I do not think that it would be acceptable to them until arguments put forward by the Turkish and British Commissioners have been refuted. Moreover, I think it should be clearly pointed out to the Russian Government that it is not consistent with the dignity of the Commission that, on matter in dispute being referred to Governments, any one Government should ignore arguments contained in Protocols, and proceed to propose a private arrangement in a Court to which the Commissioners have no access.

No. 101.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke.

(No. 66.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, August 28, 1879.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 70 of the 10th instant relative to the intended dispatch of the Turkish Commissioner, Chelab Bey, to Batoum, in order to carry out upon the spot the demarcation of the frontier between the Black Sea and Artwin.

I approve the steps which you have taken to induce the Porte to reconsider their determination on this subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 102.

The Earl of Dufferin to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 1.)

(No. 392.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, August 21, 1879.*

I REGRET to have to report that M. de Giers, not having yet received the Protocols of the Conferences respecting the disputed point near Karaourgan, is still unable to discuss that question with me.

Having proposed, however, to General Miliutine that his Excellency and I should go into the matter, he has suggested that the British Commissioner should take part in the labours of the Commission from the point at which the divergence between the two maps occurs to the north of Karaourgan, on the understanding that he prosecutes his task in a conciliatory spirit, and consents to fix the line in such a manner that the door between Karaourgan and Vezin shall be closed as effectually on one side as on the other.

The object which General Miliutine has probably in view is to prevent the turn eastward in the direction of Medingert being quite as sharp as is required by the terms of the Treaty of Berlin. His Excellency, however, considers that it will be difficult to settle this question elsewhere than on the spot.

It would, however, perhaps facilitate an arrangement if a tentative frontier were laid down on the 1 verst map by the military authorities in London. If traced in an equitable manner such a line might be accepted here, and the map thus agreed upon could be sent as an instruction to the Commission for their general guidance, subject to such modifications as the local necessities of the ground might suggest to them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 103.

The Earl of Dufferin to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 1.)

(No. 404.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, August 26, 1879.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that M. de Giers has at last received the Protocols of the Asiatic Delimitation Conferences at Constantinople. He informed me, however, that the record of those proceedings had greatly irritated General Miliutine, that the question could not be allowed to rest where it was, and that a thorough investigation must take place into the disputed matters of fact.

Unfortunately I shall not have an opportunity of seeing General Miliutine before he leaves with the Emperor to-morrow, and I fear that in his present state of mind he may prove less conciliatory and reasonable than I found him when we last conversed upon this subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

No. 104.

The Earl of Dufferin to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 1.)

(No. 413.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, August 27, 1879.*

I HAVE the honour to state that, in consequence of what fell from M. de Giers, I endeavoured to see General Miliutine yesterday, but failed, as he was not in St. Petersburg. I wrote him a letter, however, suggesting that he should lay down upon the 1 verst map the line which, in his opinion, the frontier in the neighbourhood of Karaourgan ought to follow, promising that I would submit it to the consideration of your Lordship and of the authorities at the War Office. General Miliutine has replied to me in a private note, couched in terms of great personal courtesy, but evincing a very different frame of mind from that in which I left him at Sarskoe. He observes that no compromise is any longer possible, and he desires that his suggestion,

which I communicated to you in my despatch No. 392 of the 21st instant, should be regarded as *non-avenue*.

The Russians will probably now endeavour to come to an understanding with the Turks as to the exact point at which the line of delimitation is to strike the parallel of Karaourgan. They will then contend that it is both west and "près," and that if it possesses those qualifications, the Treaty of Berlin does not entitle us to object to it.

It will be desirable, therefore, that Sir Henry Layard should prevent the Turkish Commissioners from abandoning the position they took up at the Conference, when they asserted that they had not left the ridge on which Colonel Clarke fixes his point.

I have been shown a map signed by the Turkish Commissioners, on which the line is represented as leaving the ridge and descending towards the valley. The sheet stops a little way short of the parallel of Karaourgan. On a separate sheet, which is not signed, the line is prolonged in the direction it has already taken across the river, a short distance up the opposite height. I am afraid that even the signed sheet does not altogether bear out the assertion of the Turkish Commissioners at the Conference, as on it the line undoubtedly has descended from the crest, and trends south-west instead of south.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUFFERIN.

P.S.—As M. de Giers and General Miliutine have left St. Petersburgh for Livadia nothing more can be done here towards a settlement of the dispute.

D.

No. 105.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 2.)

(No. 72.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, August 29, 1879.*

IN amplification of my telegram No. 71 of this date, I have the honour, in accordance with the request contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 60, to offer the following remarks in respect of the subject matter contained in the Earl of Dufferin's despatches Nos. 347 and 365, and of the Russian map which formed an inclosure in the latter despatch.

Your Lordship having been good enough to send me a duplicate copy of the map in question, I have been enabled to return one of the copies, on which I have shown with a blue-dotted line the frontier agreed upon by the Russo-Turkish Commission before my arrival, being the same frontier as is shown on the tracings which I had the honour to forward to your Lordship in my despatches Nos. 28 and 38 of the 30th April and 22nd May respectively.

Between this blue-dotted line and the line put forward on the Russian map—a line which I have never before seen, but which I have the authority of the Turkish Commissioner to say is false—there is, as your Lordship will perceive, a very important and significant difference, to an explanation of which I now propose to address myself, omitting, as irrevelant to the subject of the present despatch, all remarks with regard to any discrepancy in the upper portion of the map to the west of Bardouz.

From your Lordship telegram No. 11 of the 12th August, transmitting the substance of a telegram from Lord Dufferin with reference to an interview on the 9th between his Lordship and M. de Giers, I gather that the latter explains the important variation between his first and his second map (produced for the first time at that interview) by a statement to the effect that the line on the first map had been laid down from description.

Passing over the inherent improbability that the Russian Commissioner would have trusted to a mere written description for the purpose of conveying to his Government a clear conception of the somewhat intricate points at issue, any more than that the Russian Government would have been satisfied with such an inadequate source of information, I hope to be able to show to your Lordship that there is too

much bias in the hand that drew the line of frontier on what may be called the first Russian map to admit of the explanation that it was traced in error.*

It is a curious but highly significant fact, as a glance at the map will show, that both the frontier traced by the Russians and Turks before my arrival and the frontier of the first Russian map, pass through the important point "Y" (see my despatch No. 38 on the importance of this point). Bearing this fact in mind, and remembering that on the retention of this point "Y" within the future Turkish frontier depends to an important degree the effective defence of the Ziwin position, it seems reasonable to infer that the motive for putting forward this pseudo-frontier at St. Petersburgh, and alleging up to so late a period as the last days of July that this pseudo-frontier was the one traced by the Russo-Turkish Commission in the previous April, must be sought in an endeavour on the part of the Russians to gain in the negotiations at St. Petersburgh by a different line of attack what they had failed to achieve at Constantinople, viz., to include within their frontier the important point "Y."

But, as this map is now superseded by a second Russian map, I presume that this line of attack, if it ever existed, has been abandoned. Nothing further need be said, therefore, beyond that its acceptance by Great Britain and Turkey would be impossible, as it is detrimental to their interests.

I confess that I can only see in these proceedings a desire on the part of the Russians to avoid an early settlement of the pending frontier question. The mode of procedure at St. Petersburgh finds a parallel here. Having a bad case, the Russians seek to put off the decision as long as possible by shifting the ground of discussion; by pleading absence of information or of instructions, as the case may be; by St. Petersburgh neglecting to inform Constantinople of the different phases of the negotiations as they arise, and *vice versâ*; by conciliating action accompanied by passive delay in one place, and by wearing an outward appearance of impatience, using blustering threats, yet with the same passive resistance at the other; in the hope, probably, that the chapter of accidents may bring something to their advantage.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

No. 106.

Sir A. H. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 2.)

(No. 642.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 1, 1879.*

WITH reference to your telegram No. 234, Safvet Pasha has received a letter from the Russian Ambassador, inclosing a telegram from Grand Duke Michael, promising that Turkish Commission for the delimitation of Asiatic frontier shall be sent off at once, to carry on the work on the spot.

At my suggestion, Safvet Pasha has directed Turkish Commissioner to agree with Colonel Clarke as to answer to be given, which will probably be that the Porte will send its Commissioner on the understanding that question of point near Karaourgan shall be reserved.

Colonel Clarke is to see Turkish Commissioner at once, and will furnish explanation required by Lord Dufferin by telegraph.

No. 107.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 2.)

(No. 76.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September 1, 1879.*

WITH reference to Lord Dufferin's telegram of the 28th, the Turks will maintain their point, but I am of opinion that their arguments at best are weak, and cannot be supported by us with success. Details by messenger. The strongest arguments for my point X are those in the Protocols (to which the Russians should be held), where it [?] appears that this point was indicated to me as the termination of the

* I must state that the line of frontier on the first map, from the point X near Mount Chorbam-bashi in an easterly direction towards a point south of Medjingert, is the line the Russians would like to obtain, as I have seen that identical line on the Russian Commissioner's private map.

previous frontier, and that the Russian Commissioner did not raise any objection to it as such until I had agreed to accept it. Also that the point which the Russians now seek to establish on the parallel belongs to the trace directed upon the point Y, which has been abandoned as inconsistent with Treaty of Berlin. This latter is very important.

No. 108.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 4.)

(No. 74.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, August 27, 1879.*

IN accordance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's telegram No. 18 of yesterday's date, I have the honour herewith to forward a copy (1 verst to the inch) of the Karaourgan frontier, from the signed map in the possession of the Turkish Commissioner.

On the original map (scale, 2 versts to the inch) the frontier is very roughly and carelessly marked by parallel bands of green and red chalk, ¼ inch wide over all, the line of contact of the two colours being blurred and difficult to distinguish; but the red-chain dotted line shown on the accompanying copy represents within certain limits the line of contact of the two colours which should mark the frontier. At the best it is only approximative.

To my mind, and the gist of my representations to your Lordship has been that, the line of frontier represented by the chain-dotted line, after it once leaves the crest, has always appeared objectionable: first, because it is directed towards the well-known Russian point "Y," on the erased frontier; and, secondly, because it is in disagreement with the project of frontier (see inclosure in my No. 23) drawn up by the Russo-Turkish Commission, which distinctly says that the line of frontier south of Yenikeui remains on the "ligne de partage des eaux;" which is not the case with the line in question, as it leaves the watershed and descends towards the valley.

In my humble judgment the yellow line, shown on the tracing north and south of X, represents most nearly the intentions of the Signatory Powers, who declare in the Treaty that the frontier shall pass through a point near to and west of Karaourgan, and that thence it should be directed upon Medjingert, *i.e.*, in a direction nearly eastward.

In consequence of the proximity of the frontier at this point to the Ziwin position, ground is just as important to Turkey as to Russia. Looking at the matter as a soldier, I should not be disposed to recommend any concession whatever from the strict and equitable interpretation of the Treaty; but if there are reasons of general policy which induce your Lordship to grant slight concessions, then, in that case, I see no grave military objection to the frontier following the green chain-dotted line. But I am of opinion that if this green line were overstepped a continuation of the trace might perforce pass through points which might affect the defence of the Ziwin position.

The opinion which I have here submitted for your Lordship's consideration receives implied confirmation in the anxiety of General Milutine to obtain better terms than those to which his Government is entitled by the Treaty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

No. 109.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 4.)

(No. 78.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, September 3, 1879, 10·35 P.M.*

MY despatch No. 70, dated 10th of August, has been borne out by subsequent facts. Russian Government has refused in decided terms to make any alteration in the frontier between Artwin and Narinian, so that frontier as it stands is inconsistent with spirit and wording of Treaty.

There appear to be two courses open to the Porte:—

1. Submission of case to independent arbitration.
2. Call notice of Signatory Powers to the evasion of Treaty.

Turks seem disposed to try arbitration in the first instance, and for this purpose there are numerous military Commissioners now at Constantinople available. Matter in dispute is some 80 square miles of territory, but the principle involved is objectionable. In this frontier [?] Russians are taking a very arbitrary position.

Beg your Lordship's instructions as to advice to be given to Turkish Commissioner.

No. 110.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke.

(No. 70.)

Foreign Office, September 6, 1879.

Sir,

I HAVE received your telegram No. 78 of the 3rd instant relating to the difficulty which has arisen in regard to the Russo-Turkish frontier between Artwin and Nariman. Of the two alternatives which you state to be now open to the Porte, viz., either to submit the case to independent arbitration or to call the notice of the Signatory Powers to the evasion of the Treaty involved in the line of frontier originally traced by the Russian and Turkish Commissioners, the former is, in my opinion, that which would be the wisest for the Porte to adopt, and I have so informed you by telegraph.

The difficulty having arisen from concessions made in consequence either of the carelessness or connivance of the Turkish Delegates, the case is not one on which the Porte would have strong grounds for an appeal to the Signatory Powers.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 111.

Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 10, 3·45 P.M.)

(No. 80 ?.)
(Telegraphic.)

Therapia, September 10, 1879, 12·10 P.M.

AS the British and Russian Governments have been unable to come to an understanding as to position of point west of Karaourgan, I beg to submit, for your Lordship's consideration, that I should bring about a meeting of the Commission in order to see what modifications have taken place in the opinions of respective Commissioners in interval since last meeting, otherwise present situation may last indefinitely.

No. 112.

Sir A. H. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 10, 4·45 P.M.)

(No. 652.)
(Telegraphic.)

Therapia, September 10, 1879, 4 P.M.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 16 to Colonel Clarke, Salvet Pasha says that he is quite ready to submit question of the frontier in dispute with Russia to arbitration, but he wishes to know whom you would suggest as arbitrators.

No. 113.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 11.)

(No. 77.)

Constantinople, September 1, 1879.

My Lord,

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram of the 30th ultimo, transmitting Lord Dufferin's telegram of the 28th ultimo, reporting the collapse of the negotiations at St. Petersburgh, I have the honour to state that I have seen this day Nedjib Pasha,

the chief Turkish Commissioner, and he still intends to abide by the position he took up at the conferences, viz., the assertion that the frontier never left the crest.

As Lord Dufferin very justly remarks, the signed sheet does not altogether support the Turkish line of argument, inasmuch as the line on the map leaves the crest before the parallel of Karaourgan is reached. But the Turks explain the discrepancy between the map and their statement as follows:—

They say that after tracing the frontier past Bardouz and Yenikeui it was necessary for the First Commission to select some point near Karaourgan upon which to direct the remainder of their frontier. It was perfectly well understood by all, including the Russian Commissioner, that they had not the right to fix any point definitively, but that its ultimate selection depended on the Second or Tripartite Commission. To complete their work they were for the moment induced to agree, as a provisional point, to the Russian point "Y," south-west of Karaourgan. In order to reach this provisional point they had to draw a tentative line of frontier, viz., that which figures on their signed map. This portion of the frontier when it leaves the crest is, however, no argument against them, being provisional, and subject to change according to the point ultimately to be chosen by the Tripartite Commission; so that, when speaking of the frontier immediately to the north of the parallel, bearing in mind its tentative character, they consider that, according to the spirit of their map and of the accompanying project of frontier (Inclosure in my No. 23), the line of frontier has never left the crest.

It is unfortunate that there is no record of this line being acknowledged as provisional in the project above alluded to, and, in the absence of documentary proof, as the Russians will of course deny it, the onus of proving the tentative character of the line will lie with the Turks. The chief argument in their favour, and it certainly is of some weight, is that the Russian Commissioner confirmed the provisional character of the line by his attitude and words when the statement to this effect was made by the President of the Commission. (See Protocol No. 1, printed copy, p. 2, line 37 *et seq.*)

But in my opinion there are other arguments in our favour of more importance, which the Russian Government objects to face, and finds it inconvenient to deal with from the impossibility of their refutation.

These arguments are in the Protocols. In these Protocols it is shown that the point "X" was indicated to me as the terminal point of the frontier traced by the First Commission, and that the Russian Commissioner did not raise any objection to it as such, until I had agreed to accept it. The point, on the other hand, which the Russians now seek to establish on the parallel, belongs to a trace directed upon the point "Y," which has been abandoned as inconsistent with the Treaty of Berlin.

But I fear that these arguments will not be given a fair hearing by the Russian Government. There seems to be no inclination on the part of the Russian authorities to examine the issues calmly. In lieu of dispassionate inquiry we find a withholding of documents and the avoidence of all argumentative discussion, accompanied by outbursts of impatience and a desire to substitute might for right.

In this particular instance of the point west of Karaourgan, I hear that the *amour-propre* of the Russian Commissioners at seeing their scheme for nullifying the defence of the Ziwin position about to fail has had much to do with rendering the negotiations at St. Petersburgh abortive. But I would submit, for your Lordship's serious consideration, that if this mode of dealing with disputed questions be persisted in, the object for which a Commission is appointed is defeated.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

No. 114.

Sir Lintorn Simmons to Sir Julian Pauncefote.—(Received September 12.)

(Confidential.)

Sir,

War Office, September 10, 1879.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th August, in which, by direction of the Marquis of Salisbury, you have forwarded a correspondence relative to the Asiatic frontier of Turkey under the Treaty of Berlin, also of your letter of the 6th instant, with inclosures, on the same subject, and to submit for his Lordship's consideration the following observations.

The frontier intended to be described in the latter part of the LVIIIth Article of

the Treaty of Berlin was that which was delineated on the tracing of the (20 verst) map left by Count Schouvaloff with Lord Salisbury in London previous to the meeting of Congress.

Great difficulties were experienced in describing the line, in consequence of the small scale of the maps that were available. Efforts had been made by the Russian officers to have the frontier described in such a way as to have taken it a good deal to the south of the line drawn by Count Schouvaloff; but although his Excellency stated that the line had been drawn differently from what was intended by the instructions with reference to it which had been telegraphed to him from St. Petersburgh, still he considered himself bound by the trace given to Lord Salisbury, and the Article of the Treaty was worded as carefully as the only maps at the disposal of the Congress would admit with a view to establishing the boundary in accordance therewith.

The boundary from the Black Sea to the point at which Count Schouvaloff's traced line was to commence was agreed to by Congress on the 10th July (Protocol 17, p. 245), its latter part being described thus:—

"Elle suivra cette rivière (Pennek Tchai) jusqu'à Bardouy, puis se dirigera vers le sud, en laissant Bardouy et Yeni Keui à la Russie, et rejoindra la ligne fixée par le Traité de San Stefano à Zivin Kale."

As this line so described would have extended to the south of that subsequently agreed upon by the British, Russian and Turkish Plenipotentiaries on the 12th July (Protocol 19), the text of what was agreed to on the 10th July (Protocol 17) was altered in the Treaty, so as not to clash with the description of Count Schouvaloff's traced line as agreed upon by the British, Russian, and Turkish Plenipotentiaries, by the omission of the words "et rejoindra la ligne fixée par le Traité de San Stefano à Zivin Kale."

It is evident, therefore, that it was not intended to alter the line as fixed at the meeting of the 10th July (Protocol 17), except in so far as it might overlap Count Schouvaloff's traced line by extending to the south of the starting point of that line west of Karaourgan.

It appears from Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke's despatch No. 23 of the 22nd April, that the Russian and Turkish Commissioners have agreed to a line representing the frontier described in the 17th Protocol of the 10th July, and in the first part of the LVIIIth Article of the Treaty of Berlin, and have submitted to their respective Governments a plan and written description thereof duly signed.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke, at the meeting of the Commission on the 5th May, drew attention to the fact that not only had the point west of Karaourgan been fixed by the Russian and Turkish Commissioners, but that the line of frontier had been traced beyond Karaourgan, and therefore beyond the point at which the tri-partite Commission were to commence their operations, and as a consequence the line south of the parallel of latitude passing through the village of Karaourgan was erased with the concurrence of General Stebnitzky, the then Russian Commissioner, but difficulties have since arisen as to the precise position of this point.

In the map given by M. de Giers to Lord Dufferin, and forwarded in his Lordship's despatch No. 389, it appears that the parallel of latitude passing through the village in which the "point west of Karaourgan" lies, agrees with that shown by Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke on the maps forwarded by him; the differences, therefore, that have arisen in the Commission refer merely to the position in that parallel of the point in question.

The maps inclosed by Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke in his despatches Nos. 38 and 74 are on a scale the double of that of the map on which the Russian and Turkish Commissioners traced their boundary, and of which the map given to Lord Dufferin by M. Giers was a copy.

It is to be observed that the point X on the map forwarded by Lieutenant-Colonel in his despatch No. 38 is described by him as being "on the frontier previously traced by the Russians and Turks," where it crosses the parallel of latitude passing through the village.

In his despatch No. 74 Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke states that on the original signed map in possession of the Turkish Commissioner the frontier is very roughly marked by bands of green and red chalk, a quarter-of-an-inch wide (which represents nearly 600 yards) over all, the line of contact of the colours being blurred and difficult to distinguish, and forwards a map in which he shows a red-dotted line representing, within certain limits, the line of contact of the two colours, which he says at best is only an approximation, but which should mark the frontier.

On comparing these two maps by Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke, it appears that the

point at which the red-dotted line in the latter crosses the parallel of latitude, which ought to correspond with the description of the point X, as given in his despatch No. 38, is nearly 500 yards to the westward of that point X, as shown on the plan which accompanied that despatch.

The Russian map appears to place the point about 500 yards further to the westward, and across the stream which comes from the village marked Isti Su.

If it depended solely upon the interpretation of a map drawn in the way described by Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke, it would not be remarkable to find this divergence of opinion as to the point at which the frontier-line traced by the Russian and Turkish Commissioners crosses the parallel of Karaourgan. Fortunately, however, this frontier-line is described in the document before referred to, duly signed on the 7/19th April, and submitted by the Commissioners to their respective Governments, a translation of which is inclosed in Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke's despatch No. 23. In this the frontier is described as following "the line of water-parting and of the hills that stretch towards the south-west until it strikes the point (indicated on the map) to the west of Karaourgan."

This written description ought to suffice for the determination *in situ* of the position of the true "point to the west of Karaourgan." There may be disputes on a map which has not been verified and upon which the line has not been drawn with care, but where two streams converge, as in this case, there ought to be no practical difficulty whatever in determining with mathematical accuracy on the ground the line of water-parting between them down to the point of their junction, and as the parallel of Karaourgan is to the north of that junction, the written description ought to be final and absolute as to the true "point to the west of Karaourgan" mentioned in the Treaty.

It matters little whether that point is a few hundred yards more or less to the west of the village. Wherever, upon accurate survey, the water parting may cut the parallel of latitude through the village, it should, I think, be accepted; and certainly neither the Russian nor Turkish Commissioners who agreed to the written description ought to object.

The proposition to place the point to the west of the Isti Su stream, as shown on the Russian map, is inadmissible, not only because it does not agree with the description, but because the frontier, in its further progress towards Medjingert, would immediately recross that stream.

As the various maps differ from each other in many respects besides those above referred to, it would only add to the complication to attempt to lay down a tentative frontier, as suggested by Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburgh.

From what has preceded, moreover, it will be seen that I do not think it necessary with regard to the starting point west of Karaourgan, and the maps are altogether insufficient to attempt such a proceeding south-east of that point towards Medjingert.

Whatever may be settled as to this disputed point, I would strongly urge that any agreement to be made should on no account be coupled with any condition such as that suggested by Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke in his despatch No. 73 of the 20th August, by which Her Majesty's Government would undertake to consider favourabl any proposition with regard to landmarks round Karaourgan not detrimental to defence of the Zivin position.

Such a condition might lead to great complications. At Berlin persistent attempts were made to complicate the description of this frontier by introducing military considerations connected with the position of Zivin, but they were set aside by a strict adherence to a line as traced by Count Schouvaloff and agreed to by Lord Salisbury.

I believed at the time by this adherence the whole of the position of Zivin would fall to Turkey, which now appears to be the case, and I think if instructions were sent to Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke and the other Commissioners to adhere as nearly as possible to the line traced by Count Schouvaloff, and to the description of it given in the LVIIIth Article of the Treaty, all discussion as to the military position of Zevin and its defences, which are not mentioned in the Treaty of Berlin, will be avoided, and the work of delimitation will be settled most expeditiously.

There can be no doubt that Lieutenant-Clarke is quite right in his assumption that no part of the line to be traced can lie to the westward of the starting point west of Karaourgan, but it would, I conceive, tend to the prevention of disputes if the Commission were to proceed, as soon as this point (west of Karaourgan) has been determined, to verify the map upon the ground, before making any attempt to describe

the frontier on a map which has not been verified. If this be not done, errors subsequently found would give rise to fresh disputes; and, moreover, unless the British and Turkish Commissioners have been over the ground and examined it, they may be led into a grave mistake in deciding the point near Medjingert, from which the Treaty specifies that the boundary is to be "continued in a straight line towards the summit of the mountain Kassa-Dagh."

This point should be fixed before any attempt is made to continue the line from the "point west of Karaourgan."

It is quite as important, if not more so, than the starting point near Karaourgan, because upon it the line is to be directed from the starting point, and from it the straight line leading upon the Kassa-Dagh is to be drawn.

As to the latter line there can be no dispute, because, after much deliberation at Berlin, it was described as a straight line to prevent all possible divergence or disagreement as to its course.

Having determined the starting point, and the point near Medjingert, the boundary between these two points should, in accordance with Count Schouvaloff's traced line, be as nearly straight as possible, consideration being had to local circumstances which might dictate slight divergences not prejudicial to either party, having for their object the convenience of demarcation by natural features such as watercourses or partings.

The intrinsic value of the land in these regions is so small that, if undertaken in a liberal and fair spirit, free from local prejudice, there ought to be little difficulty in settling the boundary.

I would observe, however, that the experience of this dispute shows that it would tend to economy of time, labour, and money, if, in the event of a disagreement on the part of the Commission, they were directed to prepare identical maps, illustrative of their differences, which should be signed by all, and sent to their respective Governments.

I have, &c
(Signed) J. L. A. SIMMONS.

No. 115.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke.

(No. 72.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 12, 1879.*

I HAVE received your telegram of the 10th instant, suggesting that you should bring about a meeting of the Asiatic Frontier Commission, in order to ascertain whether any modifications have taken place in the opinions of the respective Commissioners as regards the position of the point west of Karaourgan mentioned in Article LVIII of the Treaty of Berlin.

I have in reply expressed my opinion that it would be best in the first place to ascertain through Safvet Pasha the present views and intentions of the Porte and its Commissioners.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 116.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir A. H. Layard.

(No. 1168. Confidential.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 12, 1879.*

I HAVE received your Excellency's telegram No. 652 of the 10th instant, stating that Safvet Pasha would be glad to have the advice of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the persons who should be requested to arbitrate on the questions in dispute with regard to the line of frontier between Artwin and Nariman.

I have suggested in reply that the Porte might propose to refer the matter to some German officer of sufficient distinction. Care should, of course, be taken to avoid selecting any one of pronounced Russian sympathies.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 117.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Plunkett.

(No. 521. Confidential.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 17, 1879.*

THE despatches from Her Majesty's Embassy at St. Petersburgh and from Colonel Clarke, with regard to the settlement of the portion of the Turco-Russian frontier in the neighbourhood of Karaourgan, have been referred to General Sir Linforn Simmons for his opinion on the questions in dispute.

I transmit to you herewith, for your confidential information, copy of the Report received from that officer. A copy will be forwarded to Colonel Clarke by the messenger leaving for Constantinople to-morrow evening, and Colonel Clarke will be instructed to conform to the recommendations contained in it.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 118.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke.

(No. 73. Confidential.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 18, 1879.*

THE despatches received from you and from Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburgh in regard to the question which has arisen as to the portion of the new frontier between Turkey and Russia in the neighbourhood of Karaourgan have been referred to General Sir Linforn Simmons for his opinion.

I transmit to you herewith a copy of the Report which has been received from Sir L. Simmons upon the subject, and I have to request that you will conduct your future proceedings in conformity with that officer's recommendations.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 119.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 23.)

(No. 81.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, September 15, 1879.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Chehab Bey, my Turkish colleague, left last week for Batoum, in order to commence the demarcation of the frontier on the ground.

His instructions are to carry out the work from the Black Sea as far as a point to the south of Artwin, being that portion of the frontier determined by the Russo-Turkish Commission in regard to the trace of which the two Governments are in agreement.

On completion of that duty he is to return, pending the settlement of the dispute with regard to the trace of the frontier between Artwin and Nariman.

When taking leave, Chehab Bey said that he would keep me constantly informed of the proceedings of the Commission; the Turkish Government, according to a statement made to me by Safvet Pasha, having given him orders to do so.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

No. 120.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received September 25.)

(No. 82. Secret.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, September 16, 1879.*

IN the course of conversation the other day with the French Military Attaché here, he told me that on a recent occasion General Zelenoy had observed, in speaking

of the differences on the Commission with respect to the point west of Karaourgan, that the Russians intended to hold out; that the British Commissioner was bound to accept their point west of Karaourgan, and that they were in the position of *beati possidentes*.

As this was a privileged communication made in the course of conversation, I could take no further notice than to report it to your Lordship, and to suggest that it might be desirable to indicate in general terms to our Consul in Kurdistan the nature of the difference between the British and Russian Commissioners, so that he might cause a watch to be kept on the Russian proceedings in the immediate neighbourhood to the south-west and south of Karaourgan. This should be done in a very cautious manner, and, if possible, through native agency, so as not to excite comment on the part of the Russians; otherwise it should be left alone, till the time comes for the Commission to proceed to the spot next year.

On receiving your Lordship's instructions, I could send a sketch illustrative of the points at issue to Major Trotter, through Her Majesty's Ambassador.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

No. 121.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received September 30.*)

(No. 83.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, September 22, 1879.*

THE negotiations at St. Petersburgh with regard to the point west of Karaourgan having failed of result, I telegraphed to your Lordship on the 10th instant suggesting that I might endeavour to renew negotiations here. To that proposition your Lordship, by your telegram No. 17 of the 12th instant, was pleased to give a provisional assent.

Before dispatching my telegram, I had spoken (in the sense of your No. 17) to Nedjib Pasha, as reported in my No. 77 of the 1st September, and since receiving your telegram I have had an interview with Safvet Pasha. The latter, although professing to be ignorant (as doubtless he is) of the details of the frontier question, said that his Commissioners would no doubt firmly hold to the statements recorded in the Protocols.

In order to feel my way as regards the basis on which the Russian Commissioner and myself were to meet in the event of a resumption of the séances, I addressed a letter to General Zelenoy. A copy of that letter and of his answer I have the honour herewith to inclose.

Although I conceived that it was my duty to endeavour to take up the ball where it fell, and not allow the question to be shelved for one moment, I must confess that in my judgment the Karaourgan question—involving the interpretation of Treaty and Agreements between Plenipotentiaries, and, consequently, forming a matter between Cabinets rather than between Commissioners—is one which could only be settled at St. Petersburgh. But, if my letter to General Zelenoy does no other good, it forms a comment on the apparent want of community of action between the Russian Government and its Agents here—a condition of things which is destructive of confidence and retards the conduct of business. But this is, unfortunately, an old characteristic of Russian policy.

I regret to have to inform your Lordship that the Turkish element on the Commission has been much weakened of late. Nedjib Pasha was summarily ordered off to Crete at a short notice (by order of Osman Pasha, I understand), in spite of a promise made to Sir Henry Layard by Safvet Pasha, that he (Nedjib Pasha) should be detained here for the present. There is no reason to suspect Russian influence in the sudden departure of Nedjib Pasha, but the explanation is more likely to be found in a personal desire on the part of Osman Pasha to get rid of a man who has been making himself obnoxious to Turks of the old school by being one of the prime movers in suggesting military reforms.

Chehab Bey, my Turkish collegue, has also left for the purpose stated in my No. 81 of the 15th September. The Pashas who remain are Ali Nizami, who is quite broken down in health, and Feyzy Pasha, whose great age (75) is not conducive to the exercise of much mental activity in the interpretation of a Treaty.

Nedjib Pasha will probably be succeeded by Mahmoud Pasha as President of the Boundary Commission. This officer does not speak a word of French.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 121.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to General Zélenoy.

M. le Général, *Thérapia, le 15 Septembre*, 1879.

DANS notre dernière entrevue, le 7 Août, j'eus l'honneur de porter à votre connaissance le contenu d'un télégramme reçu le 6 Août du Marquis de Salisbury m'informant que M. de Giers avait reconnu le droit du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique d'être consulté dans la fixation du point à l'ouest de Karaourgan. Mais comme vous n'aviez alors reçu aucune notification à cet effet de la part du Gouvernement Russie, je vous ai prié de vouloir bien me faire parvenir les instructions de votre Gouvernement aussitôt que vous les auriez reçues, dans l'espoir de pouvoir recommencer sans délai nos travaux de délimitation.

Cinq semaines s'étant écoulées depuis lors sous silence, je vous prie par ma présente de vouloir bien m'informer si vous n'avez pas encore reçu de nouvelles instructions en conformité avec le langage tenu par M. de Giers.

En attendant, veuillez me permettre de vous rappeler brièvement, M. le Général, les circonstances qui ont eu lieu au sein de la Commission et la correspondance ayant rapport à ce sujet.

Il résulte des trois séances de la Deuxième Commission que les Commissaires Turc et Britannique ont choisi, selon le Traité de Berlin, comme point à l'ouest près de Karaourgan, le point d'intersection de la crête de Karaourgan avec la parallèle du dit village; le point en question se trouvant à une distance approximative de 300 sagènes du dit village. Le Commissaire Russe (M. le Général Stébnitzky) n'a pas donné son adhésion à ce point, et même il a maintenu un point au sud-ouest de Karaourgan. Mais après votre nomination comme le remplaçant du Général Stébnitzky, et à la suite de quelques pourparlers dans lesquels vous avez émis l'opinion que le point du Traité de Berlin devrait se trouver sur la dite parallèle, je vous ai prié par ma lettre du 18 Juillet de vouloir bien indiquer sur la carte le point que vous proposez à l'ouest de Karaourgan comme point de départ de nos travaux.

En réponse à ma dite lettre vous m'avez écrit le 19 Juillet que son Excellence M. l'Ambassadeur de Russie a exprimé l'opinion que la Deuxième Commission n'a pas le droit de discuter le point à l'ouest de Karaourgan fixé par la Première Commission, et que cette opinion est obligatoire pour vous.

Par ma lettre du 20 Juillet je vous ai informé que j'avais demandé des instructions au Marquis de Salisbury à propos de votre lettre du 19 Juillet.

Un télégramme de Lord Dufferin a été reçu le 3 Août par le Marquis de Salisbury, et transmis ici le 5 Août. Selon ce télégramme, le droit du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique de participer à la détermination du point à l'ouest de Karaourgan est pleinement reconnu par M. de Giers, et il consent à ce que ce point soit placé sur la parallèle du dit village.

Le 9 Août Lord Dufferin montra la copie du télégramme en question à M. de Giers, qui exprima sa parfaite satisfaction en ce qui concerne la rédaction du dit télégramme, et même il se montra tout disposé à souscrire le document en cas de nécessité.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) F. C. H. CLARKE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 121.

General Zélenoy to Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke.

Mon Colonel, *Buyukdéré, le 1ᵉʳ Septembre*, 1879.

J'AI remis à son Excellence l'Ambassadeur de Russie, pour être présentée au Ministère, votre lettre officielle adressée à moi, que j'ai reçue le 1ᵉʳ Septembre, 1879.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) A. ZELENOY,

Délégué Russe à la Deuxième Commission de Délimitation des Frontières Turco-Russes en Asie.

No. 122.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received October 7.)

(No. 84. Confidential.)

Constantinople, September 27, 1879.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 73 of the 18th September, inclosing copy of a Report from General Sir Lintorn Simmons, the recommendations of which are to guide me in my future proceedings.

Sir Lintorn Simmons, after consideration of the documents submitted to him, is of opinion that, "wherever the water-parting may cut the parallel of latitude through the village," that point of intersection should be accepted as the point west of Karaourgan. This, as your Lordship is aware, is, and ever has been, the essence of my contention, and it is the view which I have endeavoured, in vain, to induce my Russian colleague to accept as the logical interpretation of Treaty, Protocols, the Project of Frontier of the Russo-Turkish Commission, &c. If the Russian Government will accept Sir Lintorn Simmons' view of the case a great step forward will have been made in the negotiations.

But the Russian Commissioner here will not accept the point of intersection of the water-parting with the parallel. His ground is this: I take my stand on an agreement come to between Russia and Turkey with regard to that portion of the Asiatic frontier which those two Powers have alone a right to determine. That frontier has been determined, as witness the signed maps, as far as the parallel of Karaourgan, where the participation of Great Britain commences. We have determined a point on the parallel. It is not for you to inquire by what process we have arrived at that point in descending from the northward. All above the parallel of Karaourgan is nothing to you. All that you have a right to do is to examine if the point is west of, and near to, Karaourgan.

The above is the argument of the new Russian Commissioner.

The position, on the other hand, of the British Government, and of myself, as the executor of its instructions, is put forward, in concise terms, by the Earl of Dufferin in his despatch No. 388 of the 13th August, 1879, addressed to your Lordship.

With regard to Sir Lintorn Simmons' observation that in any agreement to be made between the two Governments no condition be allowed such as that suggested in my No. 73, I would beg to remind your Lordship that the proposition with regard to the lands round Karaourgan did not emanate from me in the first instance, but was consequent on some proposals made by Lord Dufferin, as transmitted to me in your Lordship's telegram No. 12.

Finding the spirit of Lord Dufferin's telegram breathed concessions, I made a suggestion which, if agreed to, would give us better terms than General Miliutine's proposal, as the latter left us in the dark as to how "the door was to be closed." But I most thoroughly concur in Sir Lintorn Simmons' view that it is desirable to exclude all mention of Ziwin from the negotiations. During all my relations with my Russian colleagues I have always studiously avoided any discussion with regard to Ziwin, after once stating in Commission that I considered all observations with regard to any connection of our frontier with that place as being "absolument hors de propos." (See Protocol No. 3.)

In respect to the recommendations of Sir Lintorn Simmons that the Commission should proceed to the ground, in order to verify the map, before proceeding any further with the work of delimitation, I have the honour to submit to your Lordship the following observations:—

The Asiatic Boundary Commission is working under different conditions to the European Boundary Commissions, inasmuch as there exist beforehand complete, and apparently accurate, maps of Asia Minor, recently surveyed by the Russian Topographical Staff. It is, therefore, in a position to lay down a provisional frontier on these maps, in accordance with the terms of the Treaty in a place (like Constantinople) where the Commission is free from the trammels which local claims and objections would place upon it. (We have already guarded ourselves, by the necessary reservations, against any inaccuracies in those maps.) That we are likely to be met with such local objections is evidenced by the fact that the Russians sought to introduce the "intérêts économiques" of Karaourgan as a factor in determining the point west of Karaourgan. I remember similar instances occurring last year in the Dobrudscha. All these inconveniences we avoid by determining a tentative frontier here in accordance with the strict terms of the Treaty.

Moreover the Asiatic Commission differs from the European Commissions in the fact that the latter had the power of settling disputed points by the vote of the majority, whereas in our case all matters in dispute have to be referred to the Governments. It appears, therefore, manifestly desirable to determine the general trace here, within reach of his Excellency

Her Majesty's Ambassador and of the telegraph, and thus, by disposing of the main points at issue before we start, to leave only those minor points to be determined on the ground, which points would not materially retard the progress of the work of delimitation.

Thinking that your Lordship might have occasion to refer to the Project of Frontier in your communications with the Russian Government, I have the honour to inclose herewith a copy of the original. A translation was sent in my No. 23.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

Inclosure in No. 122.

Project of Frontier.

CONFORMÉMENT au Traité de Berlin et en partie au Traité de San Stéfano ainsi qu'à la carte jointe à l'Article XIX de ce dernier, la nouvelle frontière entre la Russie et la Turquie en commençant sur la côte de la Mer Noire par le Cap Kopmouch, situé entre les villages de Makriali et d'Abou-Islâh, continue jusqu'au sommet de Mamath (ou Zigaristé) par la ligne de partage des eaux séparant les affluents de Makriali-Sou et d'Itchkalé de ceux de Hoppa; puis elle se prolonge jusqu'au sommet de Daghit-Dagh, en suivant la même crête qui sépare les affluents de Mourgoul-Sou de ceux de Hoppa; plus loin, elle longe la ligne de partage des eaux entre les affluents de Mourgoul-Sou et de Ibatila-Sou d'un côté, et d'Arkhavi et de Cobikis Itchkalé (affluent de Parkhal) de l'autre; et encore plus loin la frontière continue par la chaîne des montagnes jusqu'au point au sud d'Artwin et au nord-ouest de Khorda, point qui se trouve dans le triangle formé pas les villages: Tchatil-Tsvara, Tchikhéléth et Mélo (ou Milo), et qui est marqué sur la carte.

Du point indiqué au sud d'Artwin et au nord-ouest de Khorda, la frontière suivra la rivière de Sari-Sou jusqu'à sa jonction avec la rivière Milo-Sou, traverse cette rivière et suit le crête, comme il est indiqué sur la carte, jusqu'au confluent de la rivière Nikzovani avec Tchoroukh. De ce point la frontière suit le thalweg de Tchoroukh jusqu'à la jonction de la rivière Hirssou avec Tchoroukh, quitte cette dernière et longe, comme la carte l'indique, la crête située à l'est du village d'Erkinez, en allant jusqu'au sommet qui se trouve à l'est du village d'Avéress et au nord-est du village d'Ischkhana; puis se prolonge par la crête jusqu'a la rivière Olti-Tchay, traverse cette rivière, remonte sur la chaîne des montagnes situées entre les deux rivières indiquées sur la carte, et continue, en suivant les crêtes les plus remarquables qui se dirigent vers le sud, jusqu'au point au sud de Nariman, fixé sur la carte.

Du point au sud de Nariman, la frontière gagne la chaîne des montagnes aboutit, comme la carte l'indique, à la rivière Toumbouli-Déressi, et suit cette rivière jusqu'au point marqué sur la carte, et éloigné de Tébrenek d'une distance d'une verste et demie à peu près. De là elle remonte sur les hauteurs en prenant, conformément au tracé de la carte, la direction du sud-est, et descend par les hauteurs au confluent de Toumbouli-Déressi avec Bardouz-Sou.

Après, la frontière suit ce dernier cours d'eau jusqu'à un point situé à une distance de 2 verstes à peu près de Bardouz, gagne les montagnes situées devant Bardouz, comme la carte l'indique, et par la ligne de partage des eaux et des collines qui se dirigent vers le sud, aboutit au point (indiqué sur la carte) à l'ouest de Karaourgan, en laissant Bardouz et Yénikeuy à la Russie.

Les Délégués Russes et Ottomans sont tenus à se conformer à la carte ci-jointe lors des travaux de délimitation.

La carte qui indique le tracé de la frontière à partir de la Mer Noire jusqu'au point au sud de Nariman est faite d'après l'échelle de 3 verstes Russes dans un pouce Anglais, ou bien $\frac{1}{126000}$ de la grandeur naturelle.

L'autre partie de la frontière est indiquée sur la carte faite d'après l'échelle de 2 verstes Russes dans un pouce Anglais, ou $\frac{1}{84000}$ de la grandeur naturelle.

Il est entendu que les villages limitrophes doivent passer à la Russie et vice-versa avec les terrains dont les habitants jouissent actuellement, et par conséquent les frontières tracées sur la carte pourraient subir des changements des deux côtes, si toutefois ces changements ne seraient pas contraires aux frontières naturelles, tel que: rivières, collines et crêtes. Il est entendu en même temps que les Délégués Russes et Ottomans ne tiendront pas compte des terrains qui se trouveraient isolés et éloignés de la frontière.

Nous exprimons ici notre opinion personnelle et croyons que le projet du tracé de la

frontière tel qu'il est décrit plus haut, et que nous avons désigné sur la carte ci-jointe, se trouve conforme au Traité de Berlin, sauf l'approbation de nos Gouvernements respectifs.

Constantinople, le 5/17 Avril, 1879.

No. 123.

Acting Vice-Consul Marenga to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received October* 14.)

(No. 52.) *Trébizonde, le 15 Septembre*, 1879.

My Lord,

J'AI l'honneur d'informer votre Seigneurie que la Commission pour la Délimitation de la Frontière Turco-Russe est arrivée ici le 12 courant; elle se compose du Colonel Shead Bey, Président de la Commission; du Sécretaire Effendi, et des Majors Haled et Ruchdi Bey. Cette Commission partira d'ici pour Batoum le 17 courant.

Le Secrétaire Russe de cette Commission qui se trouve ici depuis quelque temps partira également avec ces messieurs.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) T. E. MARENGA.

No. 124.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received October* 21.)

(No. 87.) *Constantinople, October* 11, 1879.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that, in accordance with the instructions conveyed in your despatch No. 74, Confidential, of the 1st October, I have forwarded to Her Majesty's Minister, for transmission to Major Trotter, a tracing from the map of the country round Karaourgan, accompanied by brief explanatory remarks on the point at issue between the Russian Commissioner and myself.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. C. H. CLARKE.

No. 125.

Sir L. Simmons to Lord Tenterden.—(*Received October* 25.)

War Office, October 24, 1879.

My Lord,

IN compliance with the request contained in your letter of the 17th instant, forwarding a copy of a despatch from Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke, I have the honour to submit the observations which follow :—

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke states that, if the Russian Government will accept the view I took in my letter of the 10th September, that the starting point of the Tripartite Commission should be the point on the parallel of latitude west of Karaourgan, where it crosses the line agreed to by the Russian and Turkish Commissioners, a great step forward will have been made in the negotiations, but adds that his Russian colleague will not accept this point of intersection.

He gives the ground upon which the Russian Commissioner bases his refusal, viz., that the frontier has been determined, as witness the signed maps, as far as the parallel of Karaourgan, where the participation of Great Britain commences. Russia and Turkey have determined a point on the parallel, in the regulation of the frontier, above which Great Britain has no voice. By "above" I understand north. I am of opinion that this view of the case, as taken by the Russian Commissioner, is perfectly correct, and cannot be disputed, and that the work of the Tripartite Commission commences on the parallel of latitude from which it takes a departure towards the south and east, in the direction of Medjingert. There is as much reason in Great Britain objecting to the Dual Commission extending their operations below, *i.e.*, to the south of the parallel of Karaourgan, as there is to Russia objecting to the Tripartite Commission commencing above, *i.e.*, to the north of that parallel.

The word "west" can have but one meaning. It has neither northing nor southing in it, and, as happily the position of the parallel of latitude seems to have been agreed

upon, the dispute, so far as I can understand it, is simply whether this point is more or less distant from the village on that parallel.

The best solution of the question seems to be to ask the Russian Government to indicate on a map the exact point on the parallel which they consider ought to be the starting point of the Tripartite Commission, disclaiming any intention on the part of the British Government to interfere to the north of that parallel.

As the line from the north has apparently been traced by the Dual Commission in a rough way, it should, I think, be pointed out to the Russian Government that in fixing this point attention should be given to the written project of frontier agreed to on the 5/17th April last.

The words of this written description are: "La frontière suit . . . . et par la ligne de partage des eaux et des collines qui se dirigent vers le sud, aboutit au point, indiqué sur la carte, à l'ouest de Karaourgan, en laissant Bardouz et Yenikeuy à la Russie." From the insertion of the words "indiqué sur la carte" in the project it is evident that the two documents, the map and project, must be taken as one.

With regard to Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke's observation on my recommendation, that when this starting point has been decided the Commission should verify the map on the ground before proceeding further with the work of delimitation, I would remark that, if it be thought that by so doing offence might be given, as calling in question the accuracy of the maps, or if for any other reason it is considered not desirable formally to verify the maps at this stage of the proceedings, I am of opinion that the other Commissioners should go over the ground, otherwise they will be at a great disadvantage as compared with the Russians in determining at Constantinople the "tentative frontier," including the important point near Medjingert.

The advisability of his so doing is enforced by his reference to the "intérêts économiqués" of Karaourgan, which, from what I believe to be the case with respect to them, would never have been introduced, or at any rate pressed, if the Commissioner had visited the spot, and had ocular evidence of their triviality.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. L. A. SIMMONS.

No. 126.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received October* 28.)

(No. 88.) *Constantinople, October* 20, 1879.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to request your Lordship's instructions with regard to the disposal of the British section of the Asiatic Boundary Commission during the coming winter.

According to your Lordship's most recent instructions it is my duty, directly the Karaourgan question is settled between the Governments, to propose to the Commission that we proceed to the spot in order to demarcate the further trace of the frontier. But as the weather will prevent our proceeding to Armenia until the spring, it would appear to be a useless expense to maintain the Commission here until the open season commences next year. The probable saving to Her Majesty's Government by my returning to England and discharging my staff may be estimated at 1,000*l*.

I have, &c.

(Signed) F. C H. CLARKE.

No. 127.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke.

(No. 79.) *Foreign Office, October* 31, 1879.

Sir,

UNDER the circumstances stated in your despatch No. 88 of the 20th instant, I have to instruct you to discharge the staff which accompanied you as British Member of the Asiatic Boundary Commission, and to return to England for the winter.

I am, &c.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 128.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received November* 3, 9·30 A.M.)

(No. 89.) *Therapia, November* 3, 1879, 8·10 A.M.
(Telegraphic.)
I HEAR on trustworthy authority that the Russians have occupied with their troops line of frontier near Karaourgan to which their Commissioner lays claim.
See also my despatch No. 82. I leave for England to-morrow.

No. 129.

Major Trotter to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received November* 8.)

Erzeroum, November 7, 1879.
(Telegraphic.)
RUSSIAN troops have occupied their [? fortifications] ever since Erzeroum has been evacuated.
Last accounts give Sarykamish 8,000 men, Kaghizmann 3,000, Olti 300; Karaourgan outposts only; Turkish outposts in Zehin. No change has taken place recently. I leave for Diarbekir on the 9th.

No. 130.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke.

(No. 80. Confidential.) *Foreign Office, December* 4, 1879.
Sir,
WITH a view to the course to be taken by the Asiatic Boundary Commission when it reassembles next spring, I transmit to you herewith copy of a letter from General Sir Lintorn Simmons, containing observations upon your despatch No. 84 of the 27th September.
I shall instruct Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburgh to be guided by the considerations set forth in this and Sir L. Simmons' previous letter in any communications which he may have with the Russian Government upon the subject on his return to his post.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

No. 131.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Lord Dufferin.

(No. 662.) *Foreign Office, December* 10, 1879.
My Lord,
IN my despatch to Mr. Plunkett No. 606 of the 12th ultimo I have forwarded a copy of a letter from General Sir Lintorn Simmons containing observations as to the future proceedings of the Commission for settling the Russo-Turkish frontier in Asia.
Sir L. Simmons' previous letter upon the same subject, and Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke's remarks thereupon, will be found as inclosures respectively in my despatches to Mr. Plunkett and your Excellency No. 521 of the 17th September and No. 571 of the 15th October.
I should wish that, in any further communications which your Excellency may have with the Russian Government upon this subject, you should be guided by the considerations put forward in Sir L. Simmons' letters.

I am, &c.
(Signed) SALISBURY.

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CONFIDENTIAL.

(4119.)

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

DEMARCATION

OF THE

FRONTIER OF TURKEY IN ASIA.

1879.